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GONZALVA OF CORDOVA;

OR,

GRENADA RECONQUERED.



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PRIN

GONZALVA OF CORDOVA;

OR,

GRENADA RECONQUERED.

NOW FIRST TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH OF

M. FLORIAN.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

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SUMMARY HISTORY
OF THE
MOORS OF SPAIN.

THE Moors of Spain are celebrated, yet their history is little known. Their name reminds us of gallantry, politeness, and the fine arts; and the frag-

ments of their annals, scattered through the Arabian or Spanish writers, tell us only of sovereigns murdered, discords and civil wars, and eternal hostilities with their neighbours. In the midst of these melancholy narratives, we sometimes meet with features of goodness, justice, and greatness of soul. These features strike us more than those which we meet with in our own histories, either because they retain a mark of singularity which the genius of the East bestows, or that, amongst numerous examples of barbarity, a virtuous action, a noble sentiment, an affecting

affecting expression, acquires a new lustre from the crimes which surround it.

I do not mean here to write a particular history of the Moors, I only wish to record their principal revolutions, to trace a faithful model of the character and manners of a people, which I have attempted to describe in the progress of my work, and to enable the reader to discriminate, among my fictions, the truths which serve as their foundation. Such is, in my opinion, the certain, and perhaps the only means,

means, of rendering a book of mere amusement, less useleſs, and leſs frivolous. The Spaniſh hiſtorians, which I have conſulted with great care, have afforded me but little aſſiſtance. Anxious to place, in the front of their perplexed hiſtories, the different princes of Aſturia, Navarre, Arragon, and Caſtile, they advert not to the Moors, but when their wars with the Chriſtians, intermix the common intereſts of both nations: they ſeldom if ever ſpeak of the government, the laws, and cuſtoms of the enemies of their faith. The Arabian writers, which
they

they have translated, give but little more light ; misled by fanaticism, and blinded by a ridiculous pride, they expatiate, with complacency, on the victories of their nation ; they say nothing of their defeats, and pass over, without mention, whole dynasties. Some of our learned men have collected, in their valuable works, what these historians have recorded, with what they themselves have observed. I have drawn from these sources. I have studied the manners of the Moors in Spanish romances ; in those of the ancient Castillians, in manuscripts, and

memoirs

memoirs sent me from Madrid. It was after this long and painful study that I have endeavoured to make known a people which resembles no other, and which has its vices, its virtues, its character peculiar to itself, and which, for a long period, knew how to combine the valour, generosity, and courtesy of the knights of Europe, with the transports and furious passions which mark the orientals.

To observe more order with respect to time, and more perspicuity, with respect to facts, I have divided this
summary

summary history into four principal epochs. The first extends from the conquests of the Arabians to the establishment of the Ommiades at Cordova. The second, comprehends the reigns of the Caliphs of the West. In the third, I have collected the little which is known of the different smaller kingdoms, raised on the ruins of the caliphate of Cordova; and the fourth involves the history of the sovereigns of Grenada, to the total expulsion of the Moors.



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GONZALVA OF CORDOVA.

CONQUESTS OF THE ARABIANS, OR MOORS,
FROM THE END OF THE SIXTH, TO THE
MIDDLE OF THE EIGHTH CENTURY.

THE Moors are the inhabitants of that extensive region of Africa, bounded on the east by Egypt, on the north by the Mediterranean, on the west by the Great Ocean, and on the south by the deserts of Barbary. Their origin, like that of almost all nations, is obscure, and mixed with fable. All that is certain is, that

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from

from the earliest times, the emigrants from Asia have resorted to Africa. The name of Moors seems to indicate this; in other respects all the historians speak of a Melek-Yafrik, king of Arabia the Happy, who, followed by a race of the Sabeans, took possession of Libya, and gave it the name of Africa. The principal tribes of the Moors pretend to derive their origin from these Sabeans; from which time it cannot be surprizing to see them, in succeeding periods, divided into tribes, dwelling in tents, wandering in the deserts, and, like their fathers, preferring an unrestrained and pastoral life.

In ancient history they are known by the name of Numidians, Getulians, and Massilians, at different intervals the friends, the enemies, and the subjects of ancient Carthage, with which they fell under the dominions of the Romans.

After



After various revolts set on foot by the restless and inconstant spirit of this people, they were subdued by the Vandals. In a century afterwards they were reconquered by Belisarius. But the Arabians, the conquerors of Greece, subdued the Mauritanians; since which time, as the Moors become Mussulmen, have been confounded with the Arabians, it is necessary to say something of that wonderful nation, which, so long utterly unknown, became, on a sudden, the mistress of so large a portion of the earth.

Without dispute the Arabians are one of the most ancient people of the universe; perhaps of all others this has alone most preserved its character, manners and independence. From the most distant ages, scattered into wandering tribes, or assembled in cities, in submission to their own magistrates and warriors, they have never

been subject to any foreign nation. In vain did the Persians, the Macedonians and the Romans endeavour to subdue them; their sceptre was but crushed in pieces against the Nabathean rocks. Proud of his descent, which he traces to the Patriarchs, and elate with the idea of vindicating his liberty, the Arab in his deserts contemplates other nations, as herds of slaves assembled but to change their lords. Brave, temperate, indefatigable, hardened from their infancy to labour and fatigue, fearing neither thirst, famine, nor even death, this people seemed to require but a leader to become sovereigns of the world. Mahomet appeared, to whom every necessary talent was provided by nature; valour, wisdom, eloquence and grace inspired Mahomet with all their several accomplishments. With nations the most enlightened, Mahomet would have been an exalted character. Amidst a people ignorant

ignorant and fanatic, he became, as it was natural, a prophet.

Till his time the tribes of Arabia, compounded of Jews, Christians and Idolaters, had made a kind of superstitious mixture with the religion of the ancient Sabæans. They believed in genii, dæmons, and oracles; they worshipped the stars and sacrificed to idols. Mahomet, after a long study of forty-four years in solitude and silence, of the new system he intended to establish, after seducing, or convincing the more important individuals of his family, the first amongst the Arabians, suddenly was the preacher of a new religion hostile to all which were then known, and calculated to inflame the martial genius of the people.

“ Sons of Ishmael, said he, I offer to you the system of worship which your
B 3 father

father Abraham, Noah, and the Patriarchs professed. There is but ONE GOD the Sovereign of the world, he is named the MERCIFUL. Adore him alone; be the benefactors of orphans, of the poor, of captives; be just to all men; for justice is the sister of piety. Pray and give alms. Your recompence shall be to dwell in heaven amidst delicious gardens, where limpid streams meander; where you shall find wives always young, always beautiful, always enamoured of you. Bravely oppose the faithless and the impious; persevere till you be victorious; till they embrace our religion, or pay us tribute. Every soldier, who falls in battle, hastens to enjoy the favour of his maker. Cowards cannot prolong their lives; the very moment when the angel of death gives their blow, is marked in the book of the Almighty."

Such

Such precepts delivered in a rich, copious, and dignified language, embellished by the powers of verse, presented from an angel to a prophet, who was at the same time a warrior, a poet, and a legislator, to a people, of all others the most susceptible, attached to the marvellous, to pleasure, and to glory, could not fail of creating immediate disciples. Mahomet obtained numbers which persecution served but to augment. His enemies compelled the apostle to fly from Mecca, his country, and take refuge in Medina: this flight was the epoch of his glory, and the Hegira of Mussulmen.

From this period Mahometanism spread like a torrent in Arabia and Æthiopia. Vainly did some tribes of Idolaters and Jews strive to defend their ancient rites; vainly did Mecca take arms against the destroyer of her gods. Ma-

homet with his sword disperfed their armies, captured their towns, and by often pardoning his prifoners attached them to his caufe, as was the general effect alfo of his clemency, his genius, and his talents with all the nations whom he conquered. Legislator, high-priest, chief of all the Arabian tribes, head of an invincible army, refpected by the fovereigns of Afia, adored by a powerful nation, feconded by officers from his example become heroes; he was preparing to march againft Heraclius, when he died at Medina in confequence of poifon which a Jew of Kabar adminiftered.

His death by no means checked either the progreff of his religion or the conquefts of the Arabians. Abubekar, the father-in-law of the prophet, was named to fucceed him, affuming the title of Caliph, which is fynonymous with Vicar.

Under

Under his reign the Mussulmen penetrated Syria, defeated the troops of Heraclius, took the city of Damascus, the siege of which was rendered immortal by the more than human exploits of Kaled, surnamed the *Sword of God*. In the midst of all these victories, Abubekar, to whom was sent the immense booty taken from the enemy, took for his own use no more than amounts to forty-pence a day of our money. Omar, his successor, ordered Kaled to advance to Jerusalem. The Arabians took it; Syria, with all Palestine, submitted. The Turks, the Persians implored peace. Heraclius fled from Antioch; Asia trembled before Omar; and the formidable Mussulmen, temperate in victory, ascribing their success to God alone, still retained, in the most beautiful country of the world, amidst a people enervate and corrupt, their austere and frugal manners; their rigorous discipline

pline and love of poverty. The meanest of the soldiers, in the midst of the plunder of a town, might be seen, in obedience to the orders of their general, faithfully bringing to him the gold and silver they had taken, to be deposited in the public treasury. These officers so valiant, lofty as monarchs, did not disdain, at the simple order of the Caliph, to quit and resume their ranks, becoming by turns common soldiers, generals, ambassadors, in conformity to his distant wishes. Lastly might be seen Omar himself; Omar, the most powerful, the richest, the greatest of the monarchs of Asia, appearing at Jerusalem, mounted on a red camel loaded with a sack of barley and rice, with a skin of water and a charge of wood. In this equipage he passed, amidst nations he had subdued, who on all sides crowded round him, entreating his blessing, and imploring him to decide their disputes. He joined

joined his army, and recommended to them simplicity, courage and forbearance. He entered Jerusalem, pardoned the Christians, preserved their churches, and, re-mounting his camel, returned to Medina to join the pious exclamations of his people.

The Mussulmen advanced to Egypt, and it was presently subdued. Alexandria was taken by Amrou, one of Omar's greatest generals; then perished that celebrated library, object of eternal lamentation with the learned. The Arabs, infatuated with respect to their own poetry, contemned the productions of other nations. Amrou burned the library of the Ptolemies, yet was the same Amrou celebrated for his verses. He respected and loved John the grammarian, to whom, without waiting for the Caliph's orders, he would have given this library.

By this Amrou, a design was executed worthy the fairest ages of Rome; this was a junction of the Red Sea with the Mediterranean by a navigable canal, into which the waters of the Nile were turned. This canal, so useful to Egypt, so important to the commerce of Europe and Asia, was completed in a few months. The Turks have suffered it to decay.

Amrou made advances in Africa, whilst the other generals passed the Euphrates and vanquished Persia. But Omar was dead and Othman succeeded him. Under the reign of this Caliph the Arabians conquered Mauritania, expelling for ever the feeble Greeks, and meeting no resistance but from the warlike treaties of Bereberes. This independent and pastoral people, the ancient inhabitants of Numidia, and who, even in our days secured by the mountains of Atlas, still keep a kind of freedom,

freedom, and for a long time defended themselves against the conquerors of the Moors. A Mahometan general, named Akbah, subdued them at last, and gave them his laws and his religion; and penetrating to the extreme western parts of Africa, was stopped only by the ocean. There elated with the fire of heroism, and the enthusiasm of his religion, he plunged with his horse into the sea, and drawing his sword exclaimed, "God of Mahomet thou seest me; did not this element impede me, I would go and seek distant nations, compelling them to adore thy name."

Till this period the Moors, subject to the Carthaginians, the Romans, the Vandals and the Greeks, had but a small part in the interests of these different masters. Wandering in the deserts, their care was occupied by their flocks; they paid arbitrary

trary imposts, suffered oppression from their masters, endeavouring from time to time to break their fetters. On sustaining any defeat they took refuge amongst the mountains of Atlas, or in the interior parts of their country. Their religion was a medley of Christianity and Idolatry; their manners those of subjugated shepherds. Rude, ignorant, wretched and brutal, they nearly resembled what they now are under the present tyrants of Morocco.

The arrival of the Arabs produced a surprizing change. A common origin with their new conquerors; the same language, similar feelings, all contributed to unite them to their new masters. The declaration of that religion which a descendant of Ishmael had propagated, whom the Moors venerated as their father; the rapid victories of the Mussulmen, who, already sovereigns of half of Asia and Africa, threatened

threatened to subdue the universe, made a lively impression on the Moors, and restored all their natural energy of character. The system of Mahomet they embraced with rapture. They attached themselves to the Arabians; entreated to combat with them, avowing themselves alike followers of their faith, and emulous of their glory.

This reunion, which doubled the force of these before divided nations, was occasionally interrupted by the revolt of the Bereberes, always ardent for liberty. The Caliph, Valid I. who then reigned, dispatched to Egypt Mouffa-ben-Nazir, a valiant and active general, at the head of an hundred thousand men. Mouffa defied the Bereberes, restored peace in Mauritania, endeavoured to make himself master of Tangier, then in possession of the Goths of Spain, and master of an immense

menſe diſtrict, of a formidable army, of a people to whom war was now become eſſential, Mouſſa formed the determination of carrying his arms into Spain.

This charming kingdom, which had alternately been under the power of Carthage and of Rome, was now become a prey to barbarians. The Alani, the Suevi and the Vandals, known by the general name of Goths, had divided its provinces amongſt them. But Euric, one of their kings towards the end of the fifth century, had reunited the whole of Spain, and tranſmitted it to his deſcendants.

The mildneſs of the climate, with proſperity and wealth, enervated thoſe conquerors, gave them vices they knew not before, and diminiſhed thoſe martial virtues to which they owed their glory. The
monarchs

monarchs who succeeded Euric, resigned their authority to the chiefs of the ecclesiastic orders and reigned in the midst of troubles. Roderic the last of them, lost the throne by his vices. No one is ignorant of the anecdote, whether true or false, of the daughter of Count Julian, to whom Roderic, as they say, offered violence. The fact is disputed; it is sufficiently certain, that the vices of tyrants have always been the real or pretended cause of their ruin.

Certain also it is, that Count Julian and his brother Oppas, Archbishop of Toledo, both very powerful with the Goths, favoured the irruption of the Moors. Tarik, one of the greatest soldiers of his time, was sent by Moussa at first with a small detachment in opposition to a great army, which Roderic had collected to oppose him; but having received reinforcements

ments from Africa he overcame Roderic himself at the battle of Xeres, where the Gothic king perished as he fled. Tarik profited himself of his victory, penetrated into Estremadura, Andalusia, the Castiles, and took Toledo. Soon afterwards being joined by Moussa, who was jealous of his lieutenant's fame, these two extraordinary men dividing their troops into different bodies, in a few months completed the entire conquest of Spain.

It must be observed that these Moors, whom many historians represent as fond of blood, left the vanquished people their worship, their churches and their laws. They demanded only the tribute which the Spaniards had paid their sovereigns. It is no proof of their ferocity, that most of the towns surrendered upon terms, that the Christians agreed so well with them, that those of Toledo assumed the name of Musa-

Mufarabians; and that queen Egilone, the widow of king Roderic, with the consent of both nations, publicly espoused Abdelazis, son of Mouffa.

This Mouffa, whom the success of Tarik had mortified, wished to get rid of a lieutenant by whose glory he was eclipsed. He accused him to the Caliph. Valid recalled them both; but, without deciding on their disputes, he suffered them to die in his court from the vexation of beholding themselves neglected.

Abdelazis, husband of Egilone, remained governor of Spain but for a short interval. Alahor, who succeeded him, carried his arms into Gaul, subdued the people of Narbonne, and prepared still farther to push his conquests, when he was informed that Pelagus, prince of the
royal

royal blood of the Goths, who had taken refuge in the Asturias with a handful of valiant troops, dared to defy the conquerors of Spain, and formed the noble design of shaking off their yoke.

Alahor sent forces against him. Pelagus entrenched in the mountainous straights, twice fought the Mussulmen, strengthened his little army, and possessed himself of some castles. Animating the valour of the Christians, depressed by such reverse of fortune, he shewed the astonished Spaniards that the Moors were not invincible.

On account of this insurrection, Alahor was recalled by Omar the Second. Elze-mar, his successor, imagined that the surest method of preventing revolts was to render the people happy. He employed himself in polishing the Spaniards,
in

in regulating the imposts, which before were arbitrary, and in restraining the soldiers by giving them a fixed residence. Friend of those arts which the Arabians cultivated, Elzemar embellished Cordova, which he made his capital. He invited the learned to his court, and himself composed a book, describing the cities, rivers, provinces, and harbours of Spain; the metals, marbles, and mines he had discovered, and every other particular of the smallest importance to science or to government. But little concerned at the conduct of Pelagus, whose whole power was confined to the possession of some fortresses amidst mountains, which were inaccessible, Elzemar attempted not to attack him, but impelled by the destructive ambition which all the governors of Spain had felt to extend their conquests in France, he passed the Pyrenees, and was slain in battle against Eudes, duke of Aquitain.

After

After the death of Elzemar, different governors arrived whilst Zezid the Second was Caliph, succeeding each other with wonderful rapidity. None of their actions deserve to be recorded ; but during this period the brave Pelagus extended his little sovereignty. He advanced to the mountains of Leon, making himself master of different places ; and this hero, whose valour roused the people of Asturia and Cantabria to liberty, laid the first foundation of that powerful monarchy, the warriors of which, in their turn, pursued the Africans to the rocks of Atlas.

The Moors, who thought only of subduing other countries, made no great efforts against Pelagus. They were secure of subduing him, after having conquered France, the sole desire of which possessed the ardent bosom of the new governor

governor Abdalrahman, whom we name Abderame. His glory, valour, and his talents, with his vast ambition, induced him to regard this as an easy conquest, instead of which he met a conqueror.

Charles Martel, son of Pepin, the grandfather of Charlemagne, whose exploits surpassed those of his father, and were not exceeded by those of his grandson, was the major of the palace under the last princes of the first race, or rather, Charles was the next king of the Franks and Germans. Eudes, duke of Aquitain, master of Guienne and Gascony, had had many disputes with the French hero. Too feeble to resist him, he sought an alliance with a Moor named Munuza, governor of Catalonia, but the secret enemy of Abderame. These two vassals, both dissatisfied with the master whom they feared, united themselves in the strictest

strictest bonds. In spite of the difference of their religion, the Christian duke gave, without hesitation, his daughter in marriage to the Mussulman, and the princess Numerence espoused the Moor Munuza, as queen Egilone had Abdelazis.

Abderame, hearing of this alliance, was satisfied of its motives. He soon collected his forces, marched to Catalonia, and besieged Munuza, who in vain attempted to escape. Being pursued, he put himself to death. His captive wife was conducted to the conqueror. Abderame, struck with her beauty, sent her to the Caliph Hakem, whose love she conciliated, and thus, by a singular fate, a princess of Gascony was placed in the seraglio of a prince of Damascus.

Not satisfied with having punished Munuza, Abderame passed the mountains;

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tains ; traversing Navarre, he entered Guienne, besieged and took Bourdeaux. Eudes, at the head of an army, endeavoured to check him, but was vanquished in a great battle ; every place fell before the arms of the Mussulmen. Abderame pursued his rout, ravaged Perigord, Saintonge, Poitou, entered Tourain in triumph, and was stopped only by the banners of Charles Martel.

Charles came to meet him at the head of the united forces of France, Austria, and Burgundy, with all the veteran bands, with whom he had so often conquered. The duke of Aquitain was in his camp ; their common danger made Charles forget his former injuries. The case was perilous and urgent ; on a single battle depended the fate of France, Germany, and indeed of christianity. Abderame was a rival worthy the son of Pepin ;

bold, like him, from numberless victories, followed by an immense army, surrounded by officers whom he had often led to victory, and long agitated by the wish of adding to the Arabian dominion the only country which remained of the ancient Roman empire.

The contest was long and bloody, but Abderame was slain. This loss soon was followed by the defeat of his army. Historians relate that more than three hundred thousand men there perished. This is, doubtless, an exaggeration; but it seems probable that enemies, having penetrated into the midst of France, and pursued after their defeat, could not easily escape from the sword of their conquerors, or the vengeance of the people.

This memorable battle, of which we have no particular account preserved us

from the yoke of the Arabians, and was the period of their greatness. They, however, again attempted to penetrate France, and even possessed themselves of Avignon. Charles Martel again met them, retook that city, drove them from Narbonne, and for ever deprived them of the hopes they had so long encouraged. After the death of Abderame, Spain was torn in pieces by the feuds of two governors, successively named by the Caliphs. A third arrived from Africa, who was soon followed by a fourth. Factions multiplied; the opposing parties often came to blows; the chiefs were massacred; towns taken, and provinces ravaged. Particulars of these events, which historians relate very differently, cannot be of material interest. The only truth they teach is, that in proportion to the mildness of the climate, the mixture of Spanish and Moors polished the manners of the latter,

latter, when a new emigration from Africa came to destroy what had been done, and to restore to their brethren that ferocity of character which seems in a manner peculiar to Africa.

These civil wars continued for twenty years, of which the Christians, retired to the Asturias, availed themselves. Alphonso the First, son-in-law and successor of Pelagus, followed that hero's footsteps. He possessed himself of part of Galicia and Leon, vanquished the troops which opposed him, mastered several places, and from thence began to establish a petty sovereignty.

The Moors, occupied by their own disputes, checked not the progress of Alphonso. After various crimes and many battles, one Joseph had obtained the superiority above his rivals, and finally

finally reigned in Cordova, when a memorable event taking place in the East, had a great influence with respect to Spain. This is the commencement of the second epoch of the Moorish empire, concerning which it will be necessary to go back a little to the history of the Caliphs.

SECOND EPOCH.

THE CALIPHS OF THE WEST, KINGS OF
CORDOVA, FROM THE MIDDLE OF THE
EIGHTH TO THE ELEVENTH CENTURY.

WE have seen, in a rapid view, how under the three first Caliphs, Abubekar, Omar and Othman, the Arabians, conquerors of Syria, Persia, and Africa, preserved their ancient manners, their simplicity, their obedience to the successor of the prophet, their contempt for wealth and luxury. But what nation could possibly be proof against such a tide of prosperity? Soon did the conquerors turn their own arms against themselves. They forgot the virtues which had rendered them invincible, and with their own hands
tore

tore in pieces the empire they had founded.

These calamities commenced with the assassination of Othman. To succeed him they appointed Ali, the friend, the companion, the adopted son of the prophet ; Ali, so dear to Mussulmen by his exploits, his mildness, and by Fatima, his wife, the only daughter of Mahomet. Moawiyah, governor of Syria, refused to acknowledge Ali. Led by the counsels of the subtle Amrou, conqueror of Egypt, Moawiyah caused himself to be proclaimed Caliph at Damascus. The Arabians were divided : those of Medina supported Ali ; those of Syria, Moawiyah. The former took the title of Alides, the latter of Ommiades, from an ancestor of Moawiyah, called Ommiyah. Such was the origin of the famous schism, which still divides the Persians and the Turks.

Ali overcame Moawiyah, but knew not how to profit himself by his victory, and was soon after assassinated. His party became feeble ; his children in vain endeavoured to reanimate them. The Ommiades, in the midst of tumults, revolts, and civil wars, still remained at Damascus possessors of the rank of Caliph. It was under the reign of one of these princes, Valid the First, that we have seen the Arabians extend their conquests in the east to the Ganges, in the west to the Atlantic Ocean. Yet the Ommiades were, for the most part, but weak princes, though their generals were sagacious ; and Mussulmen soldiers had not yet degenerated from their ancient valour. After possessing the throne for a space of eighty-three years, Mervan the Second, the last Caliph of the Ommiades, was vanquished by Abdalla, of the race of the Abassides, near relations of Mahomet as well as the Ommiades.

miades. Mervan lost the throne and his life. Aboul-Abbas, nephew of Abdalla, was chosen Caliph, and commenced that dynasty of the Abassides so celebrated in the east by their love of the sciences, by the names of Haroun-al-rachid, Almamoun, and the Barmacides. The Abassides held the caliphate for five centuries. They were at length expelled by the Tartars, and a son of Gengis-Khan; having first seen other Caliphs established in Egypt, named Fatimites, pretending to descend from Fatima, the daughter of Mahomet. The empire of the Arabians was destroyed, and this people, returned to Arabia, are at present but little different from what they were before the time of Mahomet. Thus I anticipate what follows, because from this period Spain has no more to do with the east.

When the cruel Abdalla had placed his nephew Aboul-Abbas on the throne of

the Caliphs, he conceived the horrible design of exterminating the race of the Ommiades. These princes were very numerous. Amongst the Arabians, where polygamy is allowed, and where a vast number of children is considered as a blessing from heaven, it is no uncommon thing to reckon many thousands belonging to the same family. Abdalla, despairing to extinguish the race of his enemies, whom terror had dispersed, promised a general amnesty to all those of the Ommiades who should surrender themselves to him. These unhappy persons confided in his oaths; they came and demanded forgiveness at the feet of Abdalla. The monster, beholding them together, caused them to be surrounded by his troops, and massacred before him. After this dreadful carnage, he ordered their dead bodies to be placed in contact with each other, a Persian carpet to be spread

spread over them, and on this horrible table gave a magnificent feast to his officers. One shudders at such recitals, but they mark the character and manners of these conquerors.

One of the Ommiades alone escaped; his name was Abderame. He wandered a fugitive to Egypt, and there was concealed in the deserts. The Moors of Spain, faithful to the Ommiades, though Joseph their governor had acknowledged the Abassides, no sooner knew that there existed in Africa a descendant of that illustrious race, than they secretly sent a deputation to him with an offer of the crown. Abderame foresaw the contests to which he would doubtless be exposed, but born with a greatness of soul, improved in the school of adversity, he hesitated not. He crossed the sea, arrived in Spain, conciliated the affections of his new subjects, and assembling an army,

entered Seville, and instantly marched towards Cordova, the capital of the Mussulman power.

Joseph, in the name of the Abassides, in vain endeavoured to oppose him. He was soon subdued, and Cordova being conquered, many other cities shared the same fate. Abderame was not only acknowledged as sovereign of Spain, but proclaimed Caliph of the West, and from this period Spain, dismembered from the vast Arabian empire, formed separately a powerful state.

Abderame the First made Cordova the seat of his new grandeur, but he did not remain long in tranquility. Revolts, set on foot by the Abassides, wars with the kings of Leon, and irruptions of the French into Catalonia, occupied all his attention. His valour and activity triumphed

umphed over all opposition. He maintained himself with glory on his throne; he merited the amiable appellation of *Just*, and cherished and patronized the arts in the midst of all his disquietudes. It was he who first established at Cordova, schools of astronomy, mathematics, physics, and grammar: he was himself a poet, and was believed to be the most eloquent man of his time. He adorned and strengthened his capital, building a magnificent palace amidst delicious gardens; and began that superb mosque which is still the admiration of strangers. This monument of splendor was not finished till the reign of Hakem, son and successor of Abderame. The Spaniards, they say, have preserved but half, and yet it occupies a space six hundred feet in length, and two hundred and fifty in breadth. There are more than three hundred columns of alabaster, jasper, and marble:

it was to be entered by twenty-four gates of bronze, covered with golden sculptures. Every night this magnificent edifice was illuminated by four thousand seven hundred lamps.

In this place the Caliphs of Cordova came to public prayers on every Friday, which day the precepts of Mahomet had consecrated to religion. Here it was that all the Mussulmen of Spain thought it necessary to make a pilgrimage, as do those of the east to the temple of Mecca. Here they celebrated, with great solemnity, the feast of the great and little *Beiram*, which corresponds with the passover of the Jews, with the commencement of the year, with the feast of *Miloud*, or the anniversary of the birth of Mahomet. Each of these festivals continued for eight days. During this period all labour was suspended; they made presents,

sents, they visited, or offered sacrifice. Families, reunited, forgot their disputes, vowed eternal amity, and indulged in all the pleasures which their law allowed. In the night the city was illuminated; the streets adorned with flowers; the walks and public places resounded with the noise of flutes and drums, and trumpets; the rich profusely distributed their alms, and the blessings of the poor mixed with other acclamations of joy.

Abderame, educated in the east, first carried to Spain a taste for these magnificent spectacles. In his character of Caliph, uniting the functions of emperor and priest, he regulated the ceremonies, which he celebrated with all the pomp and magnificence of the sovereigns of Damascus. Although an enemy to christianity, he saw amongst his subjects a multitude of Christians, and forbore to persecute

persecute them. But he deprived the cities of their bishops, the churches of their priests. He encouraged marriages betwixt the Moors and Spaniards, and did greater injury to religion by his tolerance, than he could have done by the most cruel rigour. In his reign the successors of Pelagus, always secluded in the Asturias, and already divided amongst themselves, were obliged to submit to the dishonourable tribute of a hundred damsels. It was for this consideration that Abderame granted them peace. Undisputed sovereign of Spain, from Catalonia to the two seas, he died after thirty years of glory, leaving the crown to his son Hakem, the third of his eleven children. After the death of Abderame, the empire of the Moors was disturbed by revolts, by wars betwixt the new Caliph, his brothers, uncles, and other princes of the blood royal. In a
despotic

despotic government such wars were unavoidable, where even the order of succession to the throne was not regulated by any law. It was sufficient to pretend to be of the royal blood ; and as it generally happened that the Caliphs left a prodigious number of children, each of these princes formed a party, took possession of some city, declared themselves sovereign, and took arms against the Caliph. Hence it was, that a multitude of these little states rose, and were annihilated in every change of the throne ; and hence came that croud of princes subdued, dethroned, and murdered, which renders the history of the Moors of Spain so difficult to arrange, and so tedious to the reader.

Hakem, and after him his son Abdalazis-al-Hakem, maintained themselves on the throne in spite of these endless dissensions. The first completed
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the beautiful mosque which Abderame began, and carried his arms into France, where his generals penetrated as far as Narbonne. The second, less fortunate, combated with various success against the Spaniards, and his revolted subjects. He died in the midst of trouble, and his son Abderame succeeded him.

Abderame the Second was a great prince: his reign was the epoch when the Christians began to keep in suspense the power of the Moors. They had learned to profit from their continued animosities. Alphonso the chaste, king of the Asturias, a wise and valiant prince, had extended his dominions, and refused the tribute of an hundred damsels. Ramire, successor of Alphonso, maintained this independance, and very often conquered the Mussulmen. Navarre became a separate sovereignty. Arragon had its

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own princes, and formed a government which respected the rights of man. The governors of Catalonia, till then obedient to the kings of France, availed themselves of the weakness of Lewis the Fair, to make themselves independent. All the north of Spain at length avowed themselves enemies of the Moors, and the south became a prey to the irruptions of the Normans. Abderame defended himself against all these foes, and merited the approbation, by his military talents, of the *victorious*. In the midst of all these wars and the cares of government, he encouraged the fine arts, he adorned his capital with a new mosque, and constructed a superb aqueduct, whence, from leaden canals, water was distributed in abundance through the city. Anxious to allure to his court poets and philosophers, he frequently conversed with them himself, cultivating, with care, all the talents which

which he encouraged and rewarded in others. In his noble soul all the arts had a place. He sent for, from the east, the famous musician Ali-zeriab, who, by his liberality, retained in Spain, there formed that famous school, the disciples of which contributed so much to the delight of Asia. In fine, under the reign of Abderame, Cordova became the seat of arts, of science, and of pleasure. The Mahometan fierceness gave place to the gallantry, of which the Caliph himself was the example. A single anecdote will be sufficient to shew how generous and amiable he was.

One day a favourite slave dared to quarrel with her lord, and retiring to her apartment, vowed the door should be walled up before she would open it to her master. The chief eunuch, terrified by her language, thought he had heard blasphemy.

phemy. He ran to prostrate himself before the prince of the faithful, and told him of the terrible vow of the rebel slave. Abderame, with a smile, commanded him to raise before the favourite's door a wall of pieces of silver, and vowed not to take it away till the slave herself should choose to come out. The story ends with signifying, that in the course of the same evening the Caliph entered without restraint the chamber of the appeased lady. This prince left, by his different wives, forty-five sons and forty-one daughters. Mohammed, his eldest son, succeeded him.

The reigns of Mohammed, and of his successors Almouzir and Abdalla, for a period of sixty years, offer but a continual progress of troubles, civil wars, and revolts of the principal cities, the governors of which endeavoured to make themselves independent.

independent. Alphonso the Great, king of the Asturias, availed himself of these dissensions to extend his dominions. On the other side, the Normans again began to ravage Andalusia. Toledo, often punished, and always rebellious, had its own princes. Saragossa imitated this example. The power of the Caliphs was weakened. Their empire, shaken in all its parts, seemed on the brink of ruin, when Abderrame the Third, nephew of Abdalla, mounted the throne of Cordova, and restored for some time its splendor and its glory.

This prince, whose name, dear to Mussulmen, seemed to be of happy omen, assumed a title, which signified *Prince of the true Believers*. His reign began with victories. The rebels, which his predecessors were unable to subdue, were defeated, their factions dispersed, order and
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peace restored. Soon attacked by the Christians, Abderame solicited aid from the Moors of Africa, and sustained long wars against the kings of Leon and the courts of Castille, who took from him the city of Madrid, then of little repute. Often beaten, and sometimes conqueror, but always great and formidable, he knew how to repair his losses, and profit by his victories. A profound politician, a sagacious warrior, he fomented divisions amongst the Spanish leaders, twelve times carrying his army to the very centre of their dominions, and establishing a marine, he possessed himself on the coasts of Africa, of Seldgeineffe, and Ceuta.

In spite of the continual wars, which, during the whole of his reign, occupied his attention, in spite of the enormous expences which his armies cost him, his fleets, his aids from Africa, Abderame established

established at his court a magnificence and luxury, the particulars of which, were they not attested by all the historians, would to us appear fabulous. The Greek emperor Constantine the Ninth, son of Leon, desiring to oppose to the Caliph Abassides, of Bagdad, an enemy capable of resisting them, sent ambassadors to Cordova to make alliance with Abderame. This latter, delighted to perceive that Christians came from so great a distance to implore his aid, displayed on this occasion every circumstance of Asiatic pomp. He sent as far as Taen to receive their ambassadors. Numerous bodies of cavalry, sumptuously clad, waited for them in the road to Cordova. An infantry, still more magnificent, filled the avenues to the palace. The courts were covered with the finest tapestry of Persia and of Egypt, and stuffs of gold were spread along the walls. The Caliph,

Caliph, on his superb throne, furrounded by his family, his vizirs, and a croud of courtiers, received them in a gallery, where all his riches were displayed. The Hadjeb, an officer corresponding amongst the Moors with our ancient major of the palace, introduced the ambassadors. Dazzled with this splendor, they threw themselves at the feet of Abderame, and presented him the letter of Constantine, written upon fine vellum, and deposited in a box of gold. The Caliph signed the treaty, heaped presents upon the emperor's messengers, and sent a numerous suite to accompany them to the very walls of Constantinople. This same Abderame, eternally employed in war or in politics, was, throughout his life, enamoured of a slave named Zahra. In her honour he founded a city, two miles from Cordova, which he called by her name. This city, now destroyed, was at the foot of lofty

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mountains, from which numberless streams, of the purest water, were led in meanders through the streets, diffusing universal freshness, and forming, in the public places, fountains always overflowing. The houses, built on a similar construction, were on elevated platforms, and had gardens crouded with orange trees, and the statue of the favourite slave adorned the principal gate of this city of love.

But all other beauties were effaced by the palace of the lady. Abderame, allied to the Greek emperors, had solicited from them their most ingenious architects; and the sovereign of Constantinople, which was then the seat of the fine arts, sent them to him with great readiness, and also forty columns of granite, the most beautiful that could be found. Besides these noble columns, there were, in this palace, two hundred

Such recitals seem almost to surpass belief; we seem to be perusing Oriental Tales, and perhaps some may accuse me of taking my memoirs from the Arabian Nights; but all these circumstances and facts are attested by Arabian writers, as reported by Lardonne, who has read

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them.

them, and confirmed by Swinburne, an English traveller of little credulity and great observation. I must confess that such monuments of splendour and of wealth, resemble nothing of which we have any knowledge, and I am sensible that many men proportioning their faith to what they have themselves seen or known, are far from believing much; but what we find in authors of undoubted authority concerning the luxury and magnificence of the Arabian sovereigns, are in an equal degree astonishing; and I would ask, if any earthquake had destroyed the pyramids of Egypt, whether we should have credited the historians who have given us their exact dimensions?

The writers, from whom I have taken the above, specify also the sums which the palace cost building, as well as the city itself. Five-and-twenty years were employed,

ployed, and the annual expenditure was three hundred thousand dinars of gold. To this must be added the maintenance of a seraglio, where the wives, concubines, and slaves, the black and white eunuchs amounted to fix thousand three hundred persons; the officers of the household, and the horses for the service of the Caliph, were in equal proportion. Twelve thousand knights composed his body guard; and when it is considered that Abderame, in a state of perpetual war with the Spanish princes, was obliged to have numerous armies on foot, to support a marine, and often to purchase subsidiaries from Africa, as well as to fortify places on the frontiers which were always threatened, it is wonderful to imagine that his revenues could be sufficient. But his resources were prodigious; and perhaps the king of Cordova was the richest and most powerful sovereign of Europe.

He possessed Portugal, Andalusia, the kingdoms of Grenada, Murcia, Valencia, the greatest part of New Castile, that is to say the loveliest part of Spain. These provinces were then extremely populous, and the Moors had carried agriculture to the highest degree of perfection. Historians assure us, that on the banks of the Guadalquivir there were twelve thousand villages; that a traveller could not proceed a mile without meeting some hamlet. In the states of the Caliph they reckoned eighty great cities, three hundred of the second order, and an infinite number of market towns. Cordova, the capital, included in its walls two hundred thousand houses and nine hundred public baths. Since the expulsion of the Moors every thing is changed, and the reason is obvious; the Moors, when conquerors of the Spaniards, did not persecute them; the
Spaniards,

Spaniards, when conquerors of the Moors, chased and expelled them.

The revenues of the Caliphs of Cordova have been estimated at twelve millions forty-five thousand dinars of gold, which is more than one hundred and thirty millions of our money. Besides this gold many imposts were paid by the produce of the earth; and amongst a people laborious, fond of agriculture, and possessing the finest country in the world, this wealth can hardly be calculated. The mines of gold and silver always common in Spain, afforded another source of opulence. Commerce enriched both people and prince, and this flowed in various branches; silks, oil, sugar, cochineal, iron, wool, then in high esteem, amber-grease, loadstone, antimony, talk, crystal, saffron, coral fished from the rocks of Andalusia, pearls from those of Catalonia,

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rubies.

rubies, of which two mines were discovered at Malaga and at Beja, all these productions before and after manufacture were exported to Africa, Egypt and the East. The emperors of Constantinople, always in alliance with the Caliphs of Cordova, favored this commerce in all its branches; and the immense range of coast, the vicinity of Africa, of Italy, and of France, still more encreased its prosperity.

The arts, offspring of commerce, which, as in gratitude, they still farther promote, added new splendour to the brilliant reign of Abderame. The palaces and gardens which he founded, the magnificent festivals of his court, attracted from all parts architects and artists. Cordova was the centre of industry, the asylum of the sciences. Geometry, astronomy, chemistry and medicine had schools which, in the century

century afterwards, produced Averroes and Abenzoar. Arabian poets, philosophers, and physicians were so celebrated, that Alphonso the Great, king of the Asturias, desirous to entrust his son Ordogno to men capable of instructing a prince, was compelled, notwithstanding the difference in religion, notwithstanding the hatred of Christians for Mussulmen, to invite to him two Moorish preceptors. One of the successors of this Alphonso, Sancho the Fat, king of Leon, being attacked with a dropsy which threatened to be fatal, did not scruple to trust himself at Cordova with Abderame his enemy, for the advice of his physicians. Sancho was cured. This singular fact does equal honour to the skill of the Arabians, to the generosity of the Caliph, and the confidence of the Christian monarch.

Such was Cordova under the reign of Abderame the Third. He possessed the

throne more than fifty years, and it is plain with how much glory. Nothing, perhaps, can so effectually prove how far this prince was superior to other monarchs, as a paper found after his death amongst his writings. It was thus written in his own hand.

“ Fifty years have passed since I was Caliph. Riches, honours, pleasures, I have enjoyed all, exhausted all. The kings, my rivals, esteem, fear and envyme. Heaven has lavished upon me all that man can desire. In this long period of seeming felicity I have calculated the number of days in which I have been really happy: they amount to forty. Mortals, learn the value of greatness, of the world, of life.”

The eldest son of this monarch, Aboul-Abbas al Hakem, succeeded his father, and, like him, took the title of Emir al Mumemim.

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The coronation of Hakem was solemnized with great pomp in the city of Zahra. The new Caliph received the oath of fidelity from the chiefs of the Scythian guard, a numerous and formidable body which Abderame had established. The brothers and relations of Hakem, the visirs, and the Hadjer their chief, the black and white eunuchs, the archers, the cuirassiers, swore to obey their sovereign. This ceremony finished with the interment of Abderame, whose body was deposited at Cordova, in the tomb of his ancestors.

Hakem, less a warrior than his father, but like him, sagacious and wise, enjoyed greater tranquility. His reign was that of justice and peace. The exploits and vigilance of Abderame had extinguished the spirit of revolt. The Christian princes, divided amongst each other,

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thought

thought not of disturbing the Moors. The truce concluded with Castile and Leon was but once interrupted. The Caliph, who commanded the army in his own person, made a glorious campaign, and took several towns from the Spaniards. During the remainder of his reign, Hakem employed all his care to make his subjects happy, to cultivate the sciences, to collect in his palace a most numerous library, and above all to obtain respect to the laws; these were simple, and few in number. It does not appear that amongst the Moors there was any distinction of a civil from a religious code. Their jurisprudence consisted in the application of the principles contained in the Koran. The Caliph, as the supreme chief of religion, might interpret, but could not violate them. At least once in every week, in a public audience, he heard the complaints of his subjects, examined

amined the accused, who, if guilty, were punished in his presence. The governors whom he appointed in the cities and provinces, attended to the soldiery, and public revenues; administered the laws, and were responsible for their different arrears. Public men, versed in the laws, filled the functions of public notaries, gave a legal form to acts which involved the security of property; and in all processes which had their sanction, magistrates, called Cadis, respected by the people and the monarch, decided without appeal. These processes were never tedious. Advocates and procureurs were unknown; no expence, no chicanery. The parties pleaded themselves, and the decrees of the Cadi were instantaneously put in force.

The criminal jurisprudence was not at all more complex. It generally resorted
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to the law of retaliation which the prophet enjoined. It is true that riches could atone, by money, for the blood which it had spilled; but it was indispensable that the relations of the deceased should give consent. The Caliph himself could not spare the life of his son, if guilty of homicide, if it were obstinately insisted on.

A code so simple could not reach every defect; but the unlimited authority of parents over their children, and of husbands over their wives, supplied what the laws wanted. The Arabians, from their ancient Patriarchal manners, had retained the reverence, submission, and obedience of a family towards its chief. Every father in his family had, almost, the rights of the Caliph. He decided, without appeal, all differences betwixt his wives and his children; he punished, with severity, the
smallest

smallest faults, and certain crimes even with death. It was age which gave this authority: an old man was considered as sacred; his presence restrained all irregularities. The most daring youth was humble when he met him; listened with patience to his admonitions; and the sight of a white beard was to him as a magistrate.

This influence of manners, more effective than laws, long continued at Cordova. The wise Hakem did not lessen it, as will appear from what follows.

A poor woman of Zahra possessed a little field joining the garden of the Caliph. Hakem wished to build a pavilion on this spot, and proposed to the woman to purchase it. She constantly refused all his offers, persisting, that she would never part with the inheritance of her fathers.

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Hakem.

Hakem doubtless was never informed of the refusal of the woman. The intendant of the gardens, a worthy minister of a despotic master, took possession of the field by force, and the pavilion was erected. The poor woman in despair hastened to Cordova, relating her calamity to the Cadi Bekir, and to consult him about what she was to do.

The Cadi thought that the commander of the Faithful had no more right than any other, to invade property not his own, and he meditated the means of reminding him of a truth, which the best of princes may at some moments forget. One day Hakem, surrounded by his court, was in the beautiful pavilion erected in the poor woman's field; he saw the Cadi Bekir advancing on his mule with an empty sack in his hands. The astonished Caliph asked him his business. Prince of
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the Faithful, replied Bekir, I am come to ask your permission to fill this sack with the earth on which you now tread. Hakem cheerfully assented, and the Cadi filled his sack. When it was full he left it on the ground, and approaching the Caliph, entreated him to add to his goodness in helping him to lift the sack upon his mule. Hakem, amused with the proposal, assented, and went to lift the sack; but unable to move it, he dropped it laughing, with complaint of its being too heavy. Prince of the Faithful, returned Bekir with an assumed gravity, this sack, which you find so heavy, contains but a small portion of the field usurped by you from one of your subjects. How will you be able to support the whole weight of this field, when you appear before the supreme Judge charged with this iniquity? Hakem, struck with the idea, ran to embrace the Cadi, thanked

thanked him, acknowledged his fault, and immediately restored the poor woman the field of which she had been robbed, adding, as a gift, the pavilion with all its rich contents. A despot capable of such an action is only inferior to the Cadi who compelled him to do it.

Hakem died, after a reign of fifteen years, and was succeeded by his son, of the same name. This prince was a child when he mounted the throne, and his childhood continued whilst he lived. During, and indeed after his minority, a celebrated Moor, named Mahomet Almanzer, in the dignified character of Hadjeb, governed the state with glory. This Almanzer, in whom were united the genius of the politician with the talents of a great warrior, this Almanzer, the most formidable and fatal enemy whom the Christians had yet encountered, reigned

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reigned twenty-six years under the name of the inactive Hakem. Fifty-two times he carried war into Castile and the Asturias, took and plundered the cities of Leon and Barcelona, penetrated as far as Compostella, destroyed its famous church, and transported its contents to Cordova, restored for a while to the Arabians their former splendor and ancient energy, and made all Spain respect the Caliph, his feeble master, who in the interval slept amidst his women and his pleasures. This lustre was, however, the last which shone on the empire of the Ommiades. The kings of Leon, of Navarre, and the count of Castile, combined to resist the formidable Almanzer. A battle took place not far from Medina-Celi, which was long, bloody, and doubtful. The vanquished Moors at length fled in confusion. Almanzer, whom fifty years of victory had persuaded that he was invincible, died with

with grief at his first change of fortune. With this great man perished the fortunes of the Arabians. From this period the Spaniards rose upon their ruins.

The sons of Almanzer successively filled their father's station; but in inheriting his power they did not inherit his talents. Factions were revived. A relation of the Caliph took arms and seized the person of Hakem, whom he did not dare to put to death. He imprisoned him, and circulated a report that he was dead. This news reached Africa. A prince of the Ommiades hastened with troops under pretence of revenging Hakem. The count of Castile joined him. Civil war raged in Cordova: it spread through Spain; and the Christian princes retook the towns of which Almanzer had deprived them. The feeble Hakem, the sport of all parties, was replaced on his

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his throne, but was soon obliged to renounce it, to save his life; a croud of conspirators were, by turns, declared caliphs, by turns deposed, poisoned, or massacred.

Almurdir, one of the youngest descendants of the Ommiades, dared to assert his claims in the midst of troubles and of hostilities. His friends pointed out the dangers he was about to encounter. If I reign but one day, he exclaimed, and the next day expire, I will not complain of my destiny. His desire was not accomplished; he was killed without being Caliph. Other usurpers succeeded, and reigned but for a moment. The last was Jalmar-ben-Mohammed; in him terminates the empire of the Caliphs of the west, which the dynasty of the Ommiades had possessed for three centuries. With those princes the power

and the splendour of Cordova expired. The governors of the different cities subject to Cordova, availed themselves of the general anarchy to erect separate sovereignties. Cordova was no longer the capital of a kingdom; it preserved no more than a religious supremacy which it owed to its mosque. Weakened by their divisions, the Moors, subject to so many masters, could not resist the Spaniards. The third epoch of their history presents but a picture of their decline.

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THE PRINCIPAL KINGDOMS RAISED ON
THE RUINS OF THE CALIPHATE:—FROM
THE BEGINNING OF THE ELEVENTH TO
THE MIDDLE OF THE THIRTEENTH
CENTURY.

IN the beginning of the eleventh century, when the throne of Cordova was every day stained with the blood of some new usurper, the governors of the principal towns, as we have before remarked, assumed the titles of kings. Toledo, Saragossa, Seville, Valencia, Lisbon, Huesia, and many other places still less considerable, had their peculiar monarchs. The history of this multitude of princes would be alike fatiguing to the reader and the writer. During two centuries it

it presents nothing but a series of perpetual murders, fortresses captured and retaken, seditions, a few noble actions, and a variety of crimes. I shall hastily pass over these two centuries of calamity, satisfied with shewing the catastrophe of these contemptible monarchies. Christian Spain at the same interval offers a picture not very different.

The kings of Leon, Navarre, Castille, and Arragon, almost all of them relations and eventually brothers, did not the less contribute to the destruction of each other. Difference of religion was no obstacle to their uniting themselves with the Moors to subdue other Christians or Moors, with whom they were at enmity. Thus, in a battle of the Mussulmen there was found, amongst the dead, count Urgel and three bishops of Catalonia. Thus also the king of Leon, Alphonso

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the Fifth, gave his sister Theresa in marriage to Abdalla, king of Toledo, to form an alliance against Castille. The sons of Sancho the Great, with their arms, violently seized the inheritance which their father intended for them. The children of the famous Ferdinand were plundered by their brother Sancho. Another Sancho, king of Navarre, was assassinated by his son. Amongst the Christians, as well as Moors, crimes were multiplied. Wars, civil, foreign, and domestic, at once tore Spain in pieces; and the people always unhappy, atoned with their property and blood for the faults of their princes.

In this long series of deplorable events, it is agreeable to find a king of Toledo, named Almamon, and a king of Seville, named Benabad, giving asylum at their court, one to the young Alphonso, king of Leon, the other to the unfortunate

Garcia, king of Galicia, both driven from their dominions by their brother Sancho of Castille. Sancho pursued his brothers as the bitterest of his enemies ; and the Moorish monarchs, naturally enemies of all Christians, received these two princes as brothers. Almamon, in particular, shewed the most tender regard to the unfortunate Alphonso, seeking to procure him at Toledo every pleasure which might console him for the loss of his throne, giving him a revenue, and considering him as a favourite son. The death of the barbarous Sancho left Alphonso the heir of Leon and Castille: the generous Almamon, who had then in his power the king of his enemies, attended him to the frontiers, heaped upon him presents and caresses, and offered him his troops and his treasures. As long as Almamon lived Alphonso forgot not his kindness ; he preserved peace with him,

aided

aided him against the king of Seville, and behaved in like manner to his son Hakem, successor of the good Almamon. But after a very short reign Hakem left the throne of Toledo to his young brother Jahiah. This prince, dissatisfied with the Christians, who were very numerous in his city, they secretly applied to Alphonso to come and attack Jahiah. The memory of Almamon for a long time kept Alphonso in doubt. Gratitude forbade his listening to the whisperings of Ambition; but gratitude proved the weaker. Alphonso encamped before Toledo. After a long and memorable siege, where a number of warriors from Navarre and France hastened to distinguish themselves, Toledo at length capitulated. The conqueror suffered the son of Almamon to reign in Valencia; he engaged, with an oath, to preserve the Moors their mosques;

but could not prevent the Christians from speedily violating that engagement.

Thus ended the kingdom and the Moorish monarchs of Toledo. That ancient capital of the Goths belonged to the Arabians for a period of three hundred and seventy two years. Many other cities of less power were not long without submitting to the yoke. The kings of Arragon, Navarre, and the Counts of Barcelona, harrassed and besieged the different Mussulmen princes of inferior importance in the north of Spain. The kings of Castille and Leon did the same with those of the south, to prevent their giving aid to their brothers. Above all the celebrated Cid, followed by an invincible body whom his valour had brought together, overran Spain, giving victory to the Christians, and fighting even for the Moors when at variance with each
each

each other, and always giving victory to those whose part he espoused. This hero, perhaps the most estimable of all whom history has recorded, for his great soul was ever without a stain, and his warlike talents went uniformly hand in hand with his moral virtues; this simple knight of Castille, whose name alone assembled armies beneath his command, saw himself master of many cities, helped the king of Arragon to possess himself of Huesca, and with his own band of followers overcame the kingdom of Valencia. Powerful as his sovereign, against whom he had frequent cause of complaint, envied and persecuted by jealous courtiers, he still never forgot that he was the subject of the king of Castille. Exiled from court, and indeed from his own possessions, he went with his brave companions to attack and vanquish the Moors, and he sent his captives to do homage to the king

king who had banished him. Soon invited back to Alphonso who required his assistance, the Cid left his conquests, and, without asking reparation, hastened to defend his sovereign; always prompt in his disgrace to forget every thing for his master, and equally so when in favour to displease in the cause of truth.

As long as the Cid was in a condition to fight, the Christians were successful; but a short time before his death, in 1099, the Moors of Andalusia changed their masters, and, for a short interval, became more formidable than ever. From the time of the fall of Toledo, Seville began to rise. The sovereigns of this city, masters of the ancient Cordova, still retained Estramadura and a part of Portugal. Benabad, king of Seville, and one of the best princes of his age, was then the only enemy capable of interrupting

rupting the peace of Castille. Alphonso the Sixth desired to form an alliance with this powerful Moor; he asked his daughter in marriage, and obtained with her several towns as a marriage portion. This extraordinary union, which seemed to ensure peace betwixt the two nations, became the occasion or the pretence for new hostilities.

Africa, after being separated from the vast empire of the Caliphs of the east by the Fatimite Caliphs, after having, for three ages of civil wars, successively belonged to masters more bloody and ferocious than the lions of its deserts, appeared to be reserved for the family of the Almeravides, a powerful tribe, native of Egypt. Joseph-ben-Jessafin, the second prince of that dynasty, founded the empire and city of Morocco. Endowed with some capacity for war, proud of his

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power, and thirsting to augment it, Joseph contemplated with an envious eye the fair climes of Spain before conquered by Africans.

Some historians pretend that the king of Castille, Alphonso the Sixth, and his father-in-law Benabad, the king of Seville, having formed a design of dividing Spain betwixt them, committed the egregious fault of inviting the Moors of Africa to aid them in their vast project. Other authors with more plausible shew of reasoning say, that the inferior Musfulmen princes, neighbours or tributaries of Benabad, justly alarmed at his alliance with a Christian, solicited the aid of the Almoravid. However it may be, Joseph seized the favorable opportunity; he passed the sea with an army, soon attacked Alphonso, and vanquished him in a fixed battle. Then turning his arms against Benabad,

Benabad, he took Cordova, besieged Seville, and was preparing for a grand assault, when the virtuous Benabad sacrificing his crown, and even his liberty, to preserve his subjects from the horror of a pillage, surrendered himself and his family, consisting of an hundred children, to the mercy of Joseph. This barbarian had the inhumanity to load him with chains; and fearing even the virtues which had made this monarch so dear to his people, he sent him to languish out his days in an African prison, where his daughters were compelled, by the labour of their hands, to maintain their father and their brethren. The memorable Benabad survived six years in prison, regretting his loss of power for his people's sake alone, preserving his life only for his children; and composing, in his tedious intervals of leisure, those poems which still remain, in which he consoles his daughters,

daughters, recalls his ancient grandeur, and gives a lesson to those princes who dare to presume on fortune.

Joseph, master of Seville and Cordova, did not long delay to subdue the other smaller Mussulmen states. The Moors, reunited under a single monarch powerful like Joseph, threatened to become again what they once were under their Caliphs. The Spanish princes perceived this, and, suspending their private animosities, they joined Alphonso to oppose the Africans. This was the period when the fanaticism of religion and of glory made all the warriors of Europe make haste to combat the Infidels. Raymond of Burgundy, and his relation Henry, both princes of the blood of France, Raymond of St. Giles, count of Toulouse, other knights their vassals, passed the Pyrenees to fight under the banners of the king of Castille.

Castille. Joseph was compelled to fly and repass the sea. The grateful Alphonso bestowed his daughters as a recompence to the French knights who had assisted him. The oldest Urrica married Raymond of Burgundy, and had a son by him who afterwards inherited Castille. Theresa married Henry, carrying him, as a portion, the lands he had already conquered, with such as he might afterwards conquer in Portugal, which was the origin of that kingdom. Elvira was given to Raymond, count of Toulouse, who carried her to the Holy Land, where his valour obtained him a dominion.

Induced by these examples, other French knights went to the aid of Alphonso the warrior, king of Arragon, that he might become master of Saragossa, and fundamentally destroy that ancient kingdom of the Moors. The son of

Henry of Burgundy, Alphonso the first king of Portugal, a prince renowned for his valour, availed himself of a fleet composed of English, Flemings and Germans, bound to the Holy Land, to lay siege to Lisbon. This strong place he carried by assault, and made it the capital of his new kingdom. During this, the kings of Castille and Navarre extended their conquests in Andalusia; the Moors were every where beaten; their cities every where taken; nor did the Almoravids make any great exertions in their support. These princes were then occupied at home in combating some new sectaries, the chief of whom, named Tomrut, under pretext of bringing the people back to the pure doctrines of Mahomet, prepared himself a way to the throne, and concluded, after various battles, with expelling the Almoravids. The conquerors, masters of Morocco and of Fez, according to the custom

custom of Africa, exterminated the race of the conquered, and founded a new dynasty, under the title of Almohads.

In the midst of all these distractions, wars and battles, the fine arts were still cultivated at Cordova. They were not, indeed, in this mutilated city, what they once were under the Abderames; but schools of philosophy, poetry, and medicine, still existed; and these schools, in the twelfth century, produced many eminent characters, amongst whom were Abenzoar, and the famous Averroes. The first, equally skilful in medicine, and the art of surgery, lived, they say, one hundred and thirty-five years, and has left many works of esteem. The second a physician also, but more a philosopher, poet, legislator and critic, acquired a reputation which succeeding ages have confirmed. In his youth he used every kind
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of pleasure ; was passionately enamoured of poetry : in his maturer years he burned his poetical compositions, studied legislation, and supported the office of a judge : when he became old, he resigned this to study medicine, in which he obtained wonderful success ; and lastly, philosophy took place of all his former pursuits, and occupied his attention for the remainder of his days. Averroes was the first who communicated to the Moors a taste for Greek literature : he translated into Arabic, with comments of his own, the works of Aristotle. He wrote many books on philosophy and medicine, and enjoyed the double glory of enlightening and assisting mankind.

Whilst Africa, torn in pieces by the long wars betwixt the Almoravids and the Almohads, was unable to check the progress of the Spaniards, these availing
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themselves of the confusion, extended their conquests in Andalusia. If their princes, less disunited, had acted but in concert, they might, at this period, have expelled the Moors from every part of Spain. But these princes, always at variance, had hardly gained a few towns but they began to dispute who was to keep them. The new kingdom of Portugal, conquered by the valour of Alphonso, was soon in hostilities with that of Leon. Arragon and Castille, after many bloody contests, combined against Navarre. Sancho the Eighth, king of that little state, was compelled to seek, in Africa, the aid of the Almohads, who, recently established on the throne of Morocco, had still to disperse the various factions of the Almoravids, and could not, much as they desired it, make good their claims upon Spain. In the mean time, two Almohad princes, whose names were Jacob,

Jacob, at different intervals passed the sea with vast armies. One, overcome by the Portuguese, did not survive its defeat; the other, conqueror of the Castilians, accepted of a truce, and hastened to return to Morocco, where they were called by new troubles. These useless victories and efforts, so ill supported, depressed neither Mussulmen nor Christians. On both sides the conquered returned to their fields, the treaties were soon forgotten, and the sovereigns of Morocco, although considered as monarchs of Andalusia, possessed in this region but a precarious authority, always disputed when they were at a distance, and always acknowledged when necessity compelled the Andalusian Moors to solicit their protection.

At length Mahomet-ab-Nazir, the fourth prince of the dynasty of the Almohads, whom the Spaniards called *the*

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Green, from the colour of his turban, seeing himself in peaceable possession of the Moorish empire in Africa, determined to collect all his forces, to transport them to Spain, and renew the ancient conquests of Tarik and Moussa. The holy war was proclaimed. An innumerable host of warriors assembled, under the banners of Mahomet, and leaving with him the shores of Africa, arrived in Andalusia. There their number was almost doubled by the Spanish Moors, whom hatred of the Christian name, and the memory of former injuries, had induced to join their brethren. Mahomet, full of confidence, promised them a certain victory, and to make them masters of all the countries they before possessed, and thirsting for battle, he advanced towards Castille at the head of his formidable army, which, if historians may be credited, consisted of more than six hundred thousand men.

The

The king of Castille, Alphonso the Noble, aware of the preparations of the emperor of Morocco, had implored the aid of the Christian princes of Europe. Pope Innocent the Third published a crusade, and was lavish of indulgences ; and Roderic, archbishop of Toledo, who had himself gone to Rome to entreat the sovereign Pontiff, in his return through France preached to the people, and engaged a number of knights to oppose the Mussulmen. The general rendezvous was at Toledo, where soon arrived more than sixty thousand who bore the cross, from Italy, and above all from France, in aid of the Castillians. The king of Arragon, Peter the Second, the same who afterward perished in the war of the Abiguese, brought his brave army. Sancho the Eighth, king of Navarre, appeared at the head of his valiant countrymen. The Portuguese, who had lost their prince,

sent

sent their best warriors. All Spain was in arms, for their all was at stake; and never since the time of Roderic had the Christians been in such imminent danger.

It was at the feet of the mountains, named Sierra Morena, in a place called Las Navas de Toloza, that the three Spanish princes met the Moors. Mahomet was master of the straights through which the Christians had to pass. His design was either to compel them to retreat, in which case they would have been distressed by the want of provisions, or to crush them in the passage if they should dare to enter it. The three princes, thus perplexed, held a consultation. Alphonso was for fighting, Peter and Sancho for retreating. A countryman came to shew them a defile which he knew, and this was the salvation of the army. The countryman became their guide, and
through

through complicated paths, amongst rocks, and over torrents, the Spaniards with difficulty reached the summit of the mountains. Then on a sudden presenting themselves to the eyes of the astonished Moors, they prepared two days for battle by prayers, confession, and the sacrament. Of this zeal the monarchs themselves set the example. The prelates and ecclesiastics, who were very numerous in the camp, after absolving these pious warriors, dispersed themselves to join them in the battle.

The third day, July the 16th, in the year 1212, the army began the attack, divided into three bodies, each commanded by a king. Alphonso and his Castillians were in the centre, with the knights of St. James and Calatrava, an order newly instituted. Roderic, archbishop of Toledo, the witness and the historian of this memorable

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memorable day, was by the side of the king, preceded by a large cross, the banner of the army. Sancho, and his troops of Navarre, formed the right wing; Peter, and his Arragonefe, the left; the French crusaders, reduced to a small number by the desertion of their comrades, who were unable to support the extreme heats of the climate, marched at the head of the troops, under the conduct of Arnold, archbishop of Narbonne, and Thibaut Blazon. In this order the Christians descended the valley, which divided them from the enemy.

The Moors, without any order, agreeably to their ancient custom, poured from all sides their innumerable troops. A hundred thousand of most excellent cavalry constituted their principal force. The remainder was a rude multitude, half armed, and ill disciplined. Mahomet,

met, placed on an eminence, from whence he commanded the whole of his army, was surrounded by a pallisade, formed of iron chains, and guarded by a detachment of his dismounted cavalry. In the midst of this inclosure, with the koran in one hand, and his sabre in the other, he was visible to all his troops, and his bravest squadrons, on all sides, surrounded the hill. To this eminence the Castilians directed their principal efforts. They at first repelled the Moors, but driven back in their turn, they retreated in disorder, and began to turn their backs. Alphonso, running on all sides to rally them, said to the archbishop of Toledo, who accompanied him every where, preceded by the great cross, "It is here, archbishop, that we must die." "No, Sir," answered the prelate, "we must here live and conquer." At this moment the brave Monk, who bore the cross,

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cross, plunged with it into the midst of the Moors. The king and the archbishop followed him. The Castilians rushed forward to preserve their standard and their prince. The kings of Arragon and Navarre, already conquerors in their wings, came to unite their force against this hill. The Moors are every where attacked. They stand their ground, and the Christians press closer upon them. The troops of Arragon, Navarre, and Castille, mutually endeavour to surpass each other. The brave king of Navarre turned the fortune of the day. He arrived at the enclosure, broke down the chains by which the Moorish king was defended, and Mahomet then fled. His warriors, seeing him no more, lost their courage and their hopes. Every thing gives way and retreats before the Christians. Thousands of Mussulmen sink under their blows, and the archbishop of Toledo,

Toledo, with the other prelates, surround the victorious kings, singing *Te Deum* on the field of battle.

Thus was won that famous battle of Toloza, which I have entered upon as well for its magnitude as to give some idea of the tactics of the Moors, which consisted in rushing amongst the enemy, combating hand to hand, till the strongest or the bravest remained masters of the field. The Spaniards knew not much more, but their infantry could firmly attack, and resist in a body, whilst that of the Moors was good for nothing. Their knights, on the contrary, selected from the noblest families, and excellently mounted on horses, which from childhood they were taught to manage, darted forwards swifter than lightning, striking with the sabre or the lance, retreating with the same velocity, and again attacking,
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till at length they were frequently victorious. The Christians, covered with coats of mail, had the advantage over the knights, who only guarded their bosom by a plastron, and their heads by a casque of steel. The foot was almost naked, armed with a wretched pike. It may be easily supposed, that amidst such confusion, and above all, in that of a defeat, that vast numbers must perish, which renders less improbable the exaggerated reports of historians. For example, they assert, that at Toloza the Christians slew two hundred thousand Moors, and lost but one hundred and fifty soldiers. Reducing this to its proper value, it is certain that the Moors suffered a most prodigious loss, and that this important day, still celebrated at Toledo, by an annual festival, took a long time, from the kings of Morocco, all expectation of conquering the Spaniards.

The victory of Tolôza was attended with more pernicious effects to the wretched Mahomet than to the Moors of Andalusia. These last retreating to their cities, fortified by the wreck of the army of the Africans, opposed the Spanish monarchs, who took but few of their places, and were not long without separating. Mahomet, despised by his subjects in consequence of his defeat, betrayed by his nearest connections, lost all his power in Spain, and beheld the principal Moors again forming little states, which they declared to be independent. The unfortunate king of Morocco, compelled to return to Africa, died in a short time of chagrin. With him the fortune of the Almohads expired: the princes of that house, who in rapid succession followed Mahomet, lived in the midst of troubles, and were finally precipitated from the throne. The empire of Morocco was divided. Three

new

new dynasties were established at Fez, at Tunis, and at Tremecen; and these three rival powers multiplied the battles and atrocious crimes, which alone form the history of Africa.

In this interval, certain disputes which took place in Castille, and the part taken by Arragon, in the war of the Albigenes in France, gave the Moors time to take breath. They were still masters of the kingdoms of Valencia, Murcia, Grenada, and Andalusia, of part of the Algarvas, and the isles called Baleari, before but little known to the Christians of the Continent. These states were divided amongst different soverieigns. The principal of these was Berhoud, a sagacious prince and valiant captain, descended from the ancient monarchs of Saragossa, and whose talents and courage had subjected to his power almost all the south-west parts of Spain.

Spain. Next to him the most formidable were the kings of Seville and Valencia. The barbarian, who reigned at Majorca, was but the head of some pirates, troublesome to the Catalonians alone.

Such were the circumstances of Moorish Spain, when two young heroes arrived at the same time at the two first Christian crowns. After composing the troubles which had happened in their minority, they turned all their forces against the Mussulmen, and always emulous of glory, without being rivals for power, devoted their lives to fight, overcome and expel these eternal enemies. One of these was James the First, king of Arragon, son of Peter, who was slain at Muret, and who, to the courage, grace, and activity of his father, joined greater talents and more virtue. The other was Ferdinand the Third, king of Castille and Leon, a wise, valiant, and sagacious

sagacious prince, whom the church has enrolled amongst its saints, and whom history places amongst its most exalted characters.

Ferdinand first carried his arms into Andalusia. This prince, nephew of Blanch, of Castille, queen of France, cousin German to St. Louis, and resembling the French hero in his piety, his valour, and the excellent laws which he gave his people, entered the territories of the Moors, received homage from many of these princes, who acknowledged themselves his vassals, and took a vast number of towns, amongst which was Alzambra, of which the terrified inhabitants took refuge in Grenada, and fixed themselves in a quarter of that city, which took the afterwards celebrated name of their ancient country. On the other side, James of Arragon embarked with an army to sub-

due the Balearic isles. The winds opposing, he reached Majorca. He defeated the Moors upon the shore, marched towards their capital, and besieged it. The first who mounted to the assault was this royal knight, who in every danger took place of his valiant followers, possessed himself of this strong place, and chasing the Mussulman monarch, annexed for ever to Arragon this new crown.

James for a long time meditated a conquest of greater importance. Valencia, after the death of Cid, had fallen into the power of the Moors. This kingdom, so beautiful and fertile, where nature seemed to delight in covering with fruits and flowers, a region which man had bedewed with blood, then belonged to Zeith, brother of the Almohad Mahomet conquered by the Christians at Tolosa. A powerful faction, hostile to this Zeith, strove

strove to place upon the throne a prince named Zean. These two rivals commenced hostilities. James took part with the weakest. Under pretence of marching to the aid of Zeith, the king of Arragon penetrated the kingdom of Valencia, several times overcame Zean, took his strongest places, and availing himself of these advantages with the activity which rendered him so formidable, he blockaded on all sides the capital of his enemy.

Zean, pressed by the Arragonefe, implored the succour of Benhoud, the most powerful of the kings of Andalusia. But Benhoud was employed in resisting Ferdinand. The Castilians, under the conduct of this valiant prince, had made increasing progress, were become masters of a great number of cities, and were at length about to lay siege to the ancient

Cordova. Benhoud always overcome, but still feared, and still venerated by a people who regarded him as their last support, had collected a new army, and, urged by an equal desire to succour Cordova and Valencia, he was proceeding to attack the Arragonefe, whom he considered as the easiest victory, when one of his lieutenants, perfidiously putting him to death, delivered the Spanish princes from the only man capable of opposing them.

The death of Benhoud took from the inhabitants of Cordova their courage and their hopes, who had till then defended themselves with equal firmness and resolution. They entreated to capitulate. The Christians made a severe use of their victory, leaving only their lives to the wretched Mussulmen, with permission to fly. Numberless families, stripped of
their

their goods, with loud lamentations left this magnificent city, which, for a space of five hundred and twenty-two years, had been the principal seat of their national grandeur, magnificence, religion, and arts. These fugitives, with the deepest regret, contemplated their lofty buildings, temples, magnificent gardens, adorned by five ages of expence and labour. The soldiers, whom they left, far from being sensible of its value, were rather anxious to destroy than inhabit it; and Ferdinand, master of a deserted city, was obliged to hold out vast encouragements to invite the Spaniards from all parts, who yet murmured at exchanging the sterile rocks of Leon for the richest region in the world, and the splendid palaces of Caliphs. The great mosque of Abderame became a cathedral. Cordova had its bishop and its monks, but never recovered the faintest image of its ancient splendor.

Valencia was not long before it submitted to the yoke. Zean, besieged by the valour of James, had moreover to combat in his walls the faction of Zeith, whom he had dethroned. The king of Tunis in vain endeavoured to send a fleet to succour Valencia: it fled in the sight of the vessels of James. Abandoned by all the world, and intimidated by the fate of Cordova, betrayed too by the adherents of his rival, Zean proposed to the prince of Arragon to become his vassal, and pay him tribute. He was inflexible, and Valencia was surrendered.

Fifty thousand Mussulmen departed with their sovereign, carrying their treasures with them. James, faithful to his word, protected them from the avarice of his troops, who regretted so rich a booty.

After the fall of these two powerful kingdoms of Andalusia and Valencia, there

there seemed to be no farther obstacle in the way of the Spaniards. Seville, which still resisted, was already menaced by the victorious Ferdinand; but at this very epoch he suddenly raised a new state, which checked the ruin of the Moors, and acquired, for a period of two hundred years, great celebrity.

FOURTH EPOCH.

THE KINGS OF GRENADA, FROM THE MIDDLE OF THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY TO THE TOTAL EXPULSION OF THE MOORS IN THE SEVENTEENTH.

THE victories of the Spaniards, but above all the capture of Cordova, had thrown the Moors into the uttermost consternation. This people, ardent and superstitious, equally prompt to be depressed, and to be elate with the vainest hopes, considered their empire as overthrown as soon as the triumphant cross crowned the summit of their grand mosque. Yet Seville, Grenada, Murcia, and the kingdom of Algarva, still belonged to Mussulmen: they possessed all the

the ports and shores of the south of Spain : their wonderful population, their riches, and their industry, assured them of prodigious resources. But Cordova, the holy city, the rival of Mecca in the west, Cordova was in the power of the Christians, and the Moors believed themselves destitute.

A single man restored their hopes. This was Mahomet Abouffaid, of the tribe of Alhamar, a native of Couffa, a famous city on the Red Sea. Many historians, who give him the name of Mahomet Alhamar, tell us that he was at first but a simple shepherd, and that afterwards taking the profession of arms, he rose to the throne by his valour. This is no extraordinary thing amongst the Arabians, where all those who do not descend from the race of the prophet are without privilege of rank, and were only esteemed

esteemed according to what they were worth.

However this may be, Mahomet Al-hamar born with extraordinary courage, reanimated that of the vanquished Moors, assembled some troops in the city of Arjona, and knowing the character of the nation he was ambitious to govern, he employed in his interest a Santon, a species of religious much venerated amongst the Moors, who publicly announced that he should, without delay, be a king. The people did not hesitate to proclaim him, and many cities followed the example. Mahomet succeeded Benhoud, whose abilities he possessed, and perceiving of what importance it was to the Arabians to have a city to take place of Cordova, to become the centre of their power, and the last asylum of their religion, he founded a new kingdom, and chose Grenada for
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GONZALVA OF CORDOVA. 378

its capital. This city, always powerful, and which is thought to have been the Illiberis of the Romans, is built upon two hills, not far from Sierra Nevada, a chain of mountains covered with snow. It is intersected by the Darro, and the Xenil bathed its walls. On the summit of these two hills there were two fortresses, Albayzin and Alhambra, each was of sufficient capacity to contain forty thousand men. The fugitives of the city Alhambra, as we have before said, gave the name of their country to the new quarter they now inhabited. The Moors, chased from Beja, when Ferdinand the Third became master of it, came also to establish themselves in the quarter of Albayzin. Grenada had also received many exiles from Valencia, Cordova, and other places deserted by the Mussulmen. Thus every day enlarged, it formed a city more than three leagues in circumference, and ramparts

parts, which defied attack, which defended by a thousand and thirty towers, and by a people equally numerous and brave, seemed to ensure its independence. Other advantages also gave Grenada the supremacy she claimed. Its situation the fairest and most luxuriant in the world, makes it mistress of a country where nature is prodigal of her bounty. Her celebrated Vega, that is, the plain on which she stands, forms a space of thirty leagues in circumference, and of almost eight in breadth. To the north it is bounded by the mountains of Elvira and the *Sierra Nevada*; it is enclosed on the other sides by an amphitheatre of hills, planted with olives, laurels, vines, and citrons. The interior parts of this plain is watered by five small streams, and by an infinite number of springs, which wind through meadows always green, forests of oak, groves of orange, fields of corn,

corn, flax, and sugar canes. All these productions so rich, so lovely, and so various, require but little culture. The earth, continually vegetating, knows but little of the rest of winter, and even in the parching heats of summer, the winds blowing from the mountains eternally refresh the air, and give a new bloom to the flowers, which incessantly precede the most luscious fruits.

It is in this lovely plain, which no description can exceed, in this enchanting country, where nature seemed to exert itself to give to man all that he could desire, that more human blood was spilled than in any place of the universe. Here, during two centuries of incessant war of nation against nation, city against city, man against man, where there is not a single spot that harvests have not been burned, trees cut down, villages reduced
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to ashes, and fields covered with the blood of murdered Moors and Christians.

Independently of this Vega an inexhaustible treasure for Grenada, fourteen great cities, a prodigious number of market towns, depended upon this lovely kingdom. Its extent from Gibraltar, which was not taken by the Christians till a long time afterwards, to the city of Lorca, was more than eighty leagues. Its breadth, from Cambil to the sea, was thirty leagues. The mountains which intersect it, produced gold, silver, garnets, amethysts, and all kinds of marble. Amongst these mountains, then called the Alpuxares, formed by themselves a province, and furnished the kings of Grenada treasures more valuable than the mines, active men, laborious farmers, and indefatigable soldiers. Finally, the ports of Almería, Malaga, and Algeziras, invited
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the vessels of Europe and of Africa, and became the deposits of the commerce of the two seas. Such was, in its commencement, the kingdom of Grenada, and so for a long time it remained. Mahomet Alhamar, who founded it, made some ineffectual exertions to reunite under one sceptre all that yet remained to the Mussulmen in Spain. This was the only means of resisting the Christians. But the little state of Murcia and that of Algarva, governed by their own princes as well as the powerful city of Seville, refused to acknowledge Alhamar, determining to remain independent states; and this was the cause of their ruin: they became a prey to the Spaniards.

Alhamar distinguished the commencement of his reign by victories. He attained some advantages over the troops of Ferdinand; but revolts at Grenada, and

and troubles which arose in all parts of this new empire, obliged Mahomet to sign a peace by no means honourable with the king of Castille. He did homage for his crown, put into his hands the strong fortress of Jaen, engaged to pay him a tribute, and to furnish him with a body of auxiliaries in whatever war he might undertake. On these conditions Ferdinand acknowledged him as king of Grenada, and even assisted him to subdue his rebellious subjects.

The sagacious Ferdinand left Grenada in peace merely to turn the whole force of his arms against Seville, which he had long been ambitious to conquer. This important place had no longer a king: it formed a kind of republican government, under some warrior magistrates. Its situation near the mouth of the Guadalquivir, its commerce, populousness, the delicious-

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ness of its climate, the fertility of its soil, rendered it one of the richest cities of Spain. Ferdinand, who foresaw a long resistance, began by possessing himself of all the places in its vicinity. At length he laid siege to Seville itself, and his fleet, stationed at the mouth of its river, prevented the possibility of receiving any succours from Africa.

The siege was long and bloody; the people of Seville were numerous and warlike. The king of Algarva, their ally, incessantly harassed the besiegers. In spite of the extraordinary valour which the Spaniards displayed in their assaults, in spite of the famine which began to spread, the city, after a year's siege, refused to surrender, when Ferdinand summoned the king of Grenada, according to their treaty, to come and fight under his banners. Alhamar was compelled to obey, and he arrived

arrived at the head of a brilliant army. Seville lost all hopes, and surrendered to the king of Castille, and the prince of Grenada returned to his dominions with the mortifying reflection that he had contributed, by his valour, to the ruin of his brethren.

Ferdinand, more pious than politic, expelled the Moors from Seville. A hundred thousand of these unfortunate men departed to seek refuge in Africa, or in the dominions of Grenada. This kingdom thus became the last solitary asylum of the Mahometan Spaniards. The little country of Algarva soon submitted to the Portuguese; and Murcia, which ought not to have been separated from Grenada, became the conquest of the Castillians.

Whilst Ferdinand lived, nothing interrupted the good intelligence betwixt
this

this monarch and Alhamar. This last availed himself of the interval of peace to secure himself on his throne, to encrease his power of resisting the Christians, whom he foresaw could not long remain his friends. He found himself capable of making a long defence; master of a country which was very extensive, he had also considerable revenues, which it would not be easy to estimate from our confined knowledge of Arabian money, and the different sources from which the public treasure was derived. All lands, for example, paid the sovereign the seventh of their produce. Their cattle was subject to the same impost. The royal domain was composed of many rich and valuable farms; and agriculture, carried to the highest degree of perfection, in a country so luxuriant, must make this kind of revenue amount to a prodigious sum. This wealth was still more increased

creased from many dues resulting to the prince from the sale, quality, and toll of all kinds of cattle. The law made the sovereign the heir of every Mussulman dying without issue, and gave him a portion in all inheritances. He possessed, as we have before seen, mines of gold, silver, and precious stones; and though the Moors were not exceedingly skilful in working these mines, Grenada was the country of Europe where gold and silver was most common. The traffic in its rich silks, the variety of its other productions, the vicinity of the two seas, the activity, industry, and astonishing populousness of the Moors, their profound knowledge of agriculture, the temperance natural to the inhabitants of Spain, all these united advantages may serve to give us a grand idea of the resources and the power of this singular nation.

Their

Their forces, I will not say in time of peace, for this was seldom enjoyed, amounted nearly to an hundred thousand men. This army, in case of necessity, might easily be doubled. The city of Grenada alone furnished fifty thousand fighting men. In other respects too, every Moor was a soldier when Spaniards were the enemies. The difference of religion rendered these so many holy wars; and the hatred of the two nations, both alike superstitious, always armed both parties even to children and the aged.

Independent of these troops, numerous, brave, but ill disciplined, who assembled but for one campaign, then returned to their families with no expence to the state, the king maintained a considerable body of knights, dispersed along the frontiers, above all on the coast of Murcia and Taen, which country was incessantly

cessantly exposed to excursions from the Spaniards. Each of these knights had a small house and field, which the king gave him for his life, and which was sufficient for the maintenance of himself, his family, and his horse. This mode of paying the military was not at the public charge, it attached them more to their country, and interested them the more warmly to defend their patrimony, always the first ravaged, if they failed to check the enemy. In a period when the art of war did not, as in our days, require the continual exercise of great standing armies, this cavalry was excellent. Mounted on the horses of Andalusia or Africa, whose superiority is notorious, and formed of knights, from their childhood accustomed to these fleet couriers, to feed and cherish them as the intimate companions of their life, they had obtained that de-

gree of excellence which is still observable in the Moorish cavalry.

These formidable squadrons, whose swiftness was without parallel, which in the same moment charged in a body, in different troops, and in a dispersed form, which rallied, fled, and returned to the attack; these knights, whose every action and word was understood by these inimitable couriers, and who in full speed could seize their lance and sabre, if fallen to the ground, constituted the principal force of the Moors. Their infantry was worth little, and their fortresses it defended, surrounded by slight walls and ditches, with no other fence than this infantry, could not long resist the attack of the Spaniards, then beginning to be what they afterwards proved themselves in Italy, under the illustrious Gonzalva.

After the death of St. Ferdinand, Alphonso the Sage, his son, mounted the throne. The first care of Alhamar was to go himself to Toledo, followed by a brilliant train, to renew with Alphonso the treaty of alliance, or rather of dependance, he had formed with Ferdinand. The new king remitted to the Moor part of the tribute imposed upon him. But this peace was of no long duration. The two nations began hostilities upon terms nearly equal. I shall relate one action only, as much to the honour of Moorish humanity as of Spanish courage. It is that of Garcias Gomez, governor of the city of Xeres. Besieged by the forces of Grenada, his garrison almost destroyed, he still refused to surrender, and standing on the rampart, covered with blood, and pierced with arrows, he alone supported the assault of the Moors. The assailants, with one common mind, agreed not to
kill

kill the hero ; they pulled him to them, carried him off alive in spite of himself, treated him with respect, cured his wounds, and dismissed him with presents.

Alhamar could not prevent Alphonso's possessing himself of the kingdom of Murcia, and to obtain peace, was again compelled to pay tribute. The disputes which soon afterwards took place betwixt the king of Castille and some of the great men of his kingdom, gave the prince of Grenada an opportunity of repairing his loss. The brother of Alphonso, and many nobles of the first families of Castille, being disgusted with their sovereign, fled to Grenada, and were of great service to Alhamar against two rebels from his power, whom the Spaniards protected. But Alhamar soon died, leaving the throne he had won, and kept by

his talents, to his son Mahomet the Second, el Fakih.

This new king, who assumed the title of Emir-al-Munemim, followed his father's footsteps. He profited by the discord in the court of Castille, and the useless journies made by Alphonso the Sage in the hope of getting himself elected emperor. Mahomet, in his absence, made an offensive alliance with Jacob, king of Morocco, of the race of the Marinis, conquerors and successors of the Almohads. He yielded to him the two strong places of Tariff and Algezira to allure him to Spain. Jacob soon arrived there at the head of an army. The two Moors, acting in concert, obtained some advantages, but the criminal revolt of the infant of Castille against his father Alphonso, soon made a rupture betwixt the
the

the Moorish monarchs. Mahomet, king of Grenada, took the part of the rebel son. Alphonso, abandoned by his subjects, implored the aid of the king of Morocco. Jacob repassed the sea with his forces, and met Alphonso at Zahra. In this memorable interview, the unfortunate Castillian would have given the place of honour to his ally and defender. "It belongs to you," says Jacob, "whilst you are unfortunate; I come to avenge the cause of fathers; I come to assist you in punishing an ungrateful wretch, who in return for your giving him life would deprive you of your crown. When I shall have fulfilled this duty, when you shall be again happy and powerful, I will dispute every thing with you, and again become your enemy."

Alphonso had not greatness of mind enough to place confidence in a prince who

held this noble language. He escaped from his camp. He soon died, after disinheriting the guilty Sancho, who nevertheless reigned after him. New troubles agitated Castille, and Mahomet seized this opportunity of entering Andalusia. He gained several battles, took many places, and terminated by victory a long and glorious life. His son Mahomet the Third succeeded him.

This Mahomet Emir-al-Mumemim, whose principal actions I am about to relate, was a patron of the fine arts; he invited them to his court, which poets, philosophers, and astronomers, rendered illustrious. The Moors were still so superior to the Spaniards in the sciences, that Alphonso the Sage, king of Castille, whose astronomic tables we have called the Alphonfine tables, invited some Arabian philosophers to assist him in regulating them.

them. Grenada began to take place of Cordova. Architecture in particular made there a surprising progress. It was under the reign of Mahomet the Second that the famous palace of Alhambra was begun, which still in a great part remains, astonishes the travellers, whom its fame alone attracts to Grenada, and shews us to what point the Moors had carried an art then but little known to Europeans, making magnificence go hand in hand as it were with voluptuousness. I hope I shall be excused dilating somewhat on this singular monument; it will serve to illustrate the manners and customs of the Moors.

Alhambra, as I have observed, was a large fortress, built upon one of the two hills which encompass Grenada. This hill, enclosed on all sides by the waters of the Xenil and the Darro, was more-

over defended by a double enclosure of wall. On the summit of this mountain, which commands the city, and from whence is to be seen the finest prospect in the world, in the midst of a level covered with trees and fountains, Mahomet chose the site of his palace.

Nothing which we now know in architecture can be compared to that of the Moors. They constructed edifices without order, without symmetry, without the least regard to its outward appearance; their whole care was of the interior. There they exhausted every variety of taste and of magnificence to combine in their apartments the conveniences of art with the charms of nature. There in saloons, paved with marble, and disposed with all the elegance of fancy, with sofas covered with stuffs of gold and silver, fountains ejected their waters to the
firmament;

firmament ; superb vases were filled with perfumes ; myrtles, oranges, and flowers spread every where the most exquisite fragrance.

The beautiful palace of Alhambra, still to be seen at Grenada, has no regular front. The approach to it is by a charming walk, frequently intercepted by streams winding through groves. The entrance is a great square, formerly termed the Hall of Judgment. A religious inscription intimates, that in this place the sovereign administers justice according to the ancient custom of the Hebrews and the people of the east. Many buildings which next presented themselves have been destroyed in order to build a magnificent palace for Charles the Fifth, with the description of which I have nothing to do. On the north side is the entrance to the palace of the ancient

Moors; and here we might suppose ourselves transported into the regions of the fairies. The first court is a large square, round which is an arched gallery; the walls and pavements are covered with Mosaic, festoons and wreaths painted and gilded, or carved in stucco, of admirable workmanship. Every space was filled with passages from the Koran, or inscriptions like the following, which may serve to give an idea of the figurative style of the Moors.—“ Oh Nazar, born upon a throne, and, like the star which announces the day; thou shinest with thy own lustre. Thy arm is our rampart, thy justice our light. Thou knowest to subdue, by thy valour, those who furnish companions to the deity. Thou makest happy, by thy goodness, the numerous children of thy people. The stars of the firmament with reverence give thee their light, as does the sun, with love. The cedar,

cedar, king of the forest, which bows at thy presence his lofty head, is raised by thy powerful hand."

In the middle of this court, paved with white marble, is a long bason of running water deep enough to swim in : on each side it is bordered with banks of flowers and lanes of oranges. This place is called Mefuar, and was used for the purpose of a bath by the domestics of the palace.

From hence you pass to the celebrated court called the Court of the Lions. This is one hundred feet long and fifty broad. A colonnade of white marble supports a gallery which goes round it. The columns placed two by two, at intervals, and sometimes three together, are all of various tastes ; but their lightness and elegance delight the admiring eye. The walls, and above all the cieling of the
circular

circular gallery, are adorned with gold, and stuccoed, beautifully interwoven with festoons, finished in a style of delicacy which the best of our modern artists would find difficult to imitate. In the midst of these ornaments, varied almost without end, are passages of the koran, which every good Mussulman is constantly repeating—*God is great—God is conqueror—There is no god but God—Celestial delight, opener of the heart, rapture of the soul to those who believe.* At the two extremities of its length, two beautiful cupolas, from fifteen to sixteen feet every way, are supported, like every thing else, by columns of white marble. Beneath these are jets d’eaux. Lastly, in the centre of the whole, there rises from a vast basin a superb vase of alabaster of six feet diameter, supported by twelve lions of white marble. This cup, believed to have been made on the model of the brazen sea in the Temple of Solomon,

Solomon, has still above it a smaller vase, from whence issues a noble stream, which, falling from one cavity to another to the great reservoir, forms a continual cascade, yet more encreased by a limpid torrent which each lion throws from his mouth.

This fountain also is adorned by inscriptions, for the Arabians delight to combine poetry with sculpture. Their ideas to us appear profound, and their expressions lofty ; but we are at so great a distance from their manners, and know so little of the genius of their tongue, that we are not, perhaps, qualified to pass an accurate judgment. In other respects the verses they made in Spain and in France, in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, are not much better than what is engraved on the fountain of Lions.

Thou,

Thou, whose eye regardest
These lions, these waters, and these prodigies of art,
Regardest the work of the great king, Mahomet ;

The peace which reigns in these places
Is a faithful image of the peace within his bosom.
Like these lions in the fields of slaughter

He punishes the audacious ;
And, like this transparent water,
Which, rising in the air, falls in copious drops,
Does his beneficent hand
Spread his bounties amongst his people.

I shall not take upon me to expatiate
upon the other fragments which yet remain
in Alhambra. Some served as
halls of audience or of justice, others enclosed
the baths of the monarch, the queen,
or their children. Their bed-chamber
is still to be seen, where the beds,
near a fountain, were placed beneath
alcoves. In the music saloon, four
elevated tribunes were filled with musicians,
whilst all the court reposed on
carpets on the margin of the alabaster
basin.

basin. In the cabinet where the queen dressed, or said her prayers, the sight of which is delightful, there is a fragment of marble, in which are a multitude of apertures, from whence issued a cloud of perfumes continually burning beneath its base. All the windows, doors, and openings throughout the whole were so contrived, that the most delightful scenes, and sweetest effects of light, constantly soothed the enchanted eye; and currents of air, supplied with inexhaustible freshness, spread throughout the edifice a charming coolness.

On leaving Alhambra, on a summit of a mountain, is conspicuous the famous garden of *Generalif*, usually called the Palace of Love. In this garden is the palace where the kings of Grenada used to spend the months of spring. It was built in the same style as that of Alhambra, and every where with the same magni-

magnificence. It is now in ruins ; but what is still to be admired in the *Generalif* is its picturesque situation, its points of view always various, always delightful. Fountains, jets d'eau, and cascades, throw their waters in every part. Large circular terraces, paved with Mosaic, were shaded by immense cypresses and old myrtles, which afforded their shades to the monarchs and queens of Grenada. In their time, flowering groves and forests of fruit trees, were intermixed with lofty domes and superb pavilions. At present the *Generalif* possesses that alone of which it was impossible to deprive it, and it is still a portion of the earth which most delights the eye, and interests the heart.

It is a melancholy task to leave Alhambra and the Generalif to return to ravages, incursions, and bloody disputes betwixt the Moors and the Castillians. Mahomet the Third, surnamed the Blind, had

had at the same time to contend with his own subjects and the Spaniards. Compelled, by his infirmity, to choose a prime minister, he committed this important charge to Farady, the husband of his sister, a man of rank, a wise warrior, who continued without loss the war against the Christians, and made with them an honourable peace. The courtiers, inflamed by the glory, and above all with the success of the favourite, conspired against their master: they excited revolts; and to increase these troubles, the king of Castille, Ferdinand the Fourth, surnamed *The Adjourned*, united with the king of Arragon to attack those of Grenada. Gibraltar was taken by the former, who expelled the Moors from the place: amongst the unfortunate who left this place, an old man saw Ferdinand, and approaching him, leaning on his staff, "King of Castille," said he, "what have I done against you or yours; your great

great grandfather Ferdinand drove me from Seville, my country. I went to seek an asylum in Xeres; your grandfather Alphonso drove me from thence. Retired within the walls of Tariff, Sancho your father exiled me thence. Finally, I was come to seek a tomb in the extremity of Spain, on the shores of Gibraltar, and there also your rage has pursued me. Shew me then where I may die, remote from Spaniards?" "Cross the sea," replied Ferdinand; and he ordered him to be conducted to Africa.

Conquered by those of Arragon, pressed by the people of Castille, and dreading his people, whom the great men of his court inflamed against him, the king of Grenada and his minister were compelled to a disgraceful peace. The storm soon burst forth. Mahomet Abenazar, brother of Mahomet the Third, and chief of the conspiracy, seized the miserable prince,

prince, put him to death, and took possession of his crown. But he himself was soon driven out by Farady, the former minister, who not venturing to retain the crown, placed it on the head of Ishmael his son, nephew to Mahomet the Third, by his mother's side, who was that monarch's sister.

From this period the royal family of Grenada was divided into two branches, who were eternal enemies to each other. The first, called Alhamar, who, on the male side, were descended from the first monarch; the second, called Farady, on the side of the females.

The Castillians, whose interest it was eternally to foment dissensions amongst the Moors, took part with Abenazar, who had fled for refuge to Guadix. The infant Don Pedro, uncle of the young king of Castille, Alphonso surnamed the Avenger,

venger, attacked Ishmael, and afterwards beat the Moors. Reinforced with another infant, named Don Juan, these two princes carried fire and sword to the very gates of Grenada. The Mussulmen dared not to come out and fight the Christians, but when these, loaded with booty, were returning towards Castille, Ishmael with his army pursued them; he soon overtook them, and fell upon their rear guard. It was on the twenty-sixth of June, and the hottest part of the day. The two infants made great efforts, and did so much to rally their troops to combat, that exhausted with thirst and fatigue, both of them fell down dead without a wound. The panting Spaniards could not defend themselves, they fled, lost their baggage, and left to their enemies the body of one of the unfortunate infants. This Ishmael carried to Grenada, placed it in a coffin covered with cloth and gold, and

and finally sent it to the Castillians, after paying it all funeral honours.

The fruits of this victory was the capture of some towns, and an honourable truce. But Ishmael did not long enjoy his success. Captivated by a young Spanish lady, who had fallen to the share of one of his officers, he dared to take her violently away. This outrage amongst Mussulmen can only be washed away by blood. The king was assassinated by this officer, and his son Mahomet the Fifth mounted the throne.

The reign of Mahomet the Fifth, and that of Joseph the First, his successor, both of whom met with a similar fate, both being murdered in their palace, for a period of thirty years present us but with one continued series of ravage, sedition and battles. Abel Hassam, king of Morocco, of the dynasty of the Merinis,

rinis, invited by the people of Grenada, came into Spain, followed by innumerable troops, which he joined to those of Joseph. The kings of Castille and Portugal joining their forces, combated this vast army on the banks of the Salado, not far from Tariff. This battle of Salado, equally celebrated in Spanish history with the victory of Tolosa, cost the lives of many thousands of Moors. Abel Hassam fled to conceal his disgrace in his dominions of Morocco. The strong place of Algezira, the rampart of Grenada, and the deposit of all the succours received from Africa, was besieged by the Castilians. To this siege came many French, English, and knights of Navarre, where the Mussulmen made use of cannon. This is the first time that they are mentioned in history; for the battle of Crecy, where it is said the English used these, did not take place till four years afterwards. It is to the Moors then that is owed

owed not the invention of gunpowder, which is given to the Chinese, to Schwartz, a German cordelier, to the English Roger Bacon, but the terrible invention of artillery. At least it is certain that the Moors made the first cannon. In spite of this aid Algezira was taken: Joseph, king of Grenada, always beaten by the Christians, was at length murdered by his subjects.

It may have been remarked, that among the Moors the succession to the crown is regulated by no law. And yet, in the midst of conspiracies eternally renewed, a prince was always chosen from the blood royal; and we have seen that of Grenada divided, since the reign of Ishmael, betwixt that of Alhamar and Farady. The first, expelled by the latter, considered them always in the light of usurpers. This was the occasion of so many troubles, conspiracies and murders.

Joseph the First had, for his successor, a prince of the race of Farady, who was his uncle. His name was Mahomet the Sixth, and he was called the Old, because he ascended the throne in an advanced age. An Alhamar prince, his cousin, named Mahomet the Red, chased the Farady from the throne, and with the protection of the king of Arragon retained it for some years. Peter the Cruel, then sovereign of Castille, embraced the cause of the exiled Farady, supported him with an army, and so pressed Mahomet the Red that he had no other resource but that of going himself in person to Seville, trusting himself to the discretion of the prince. He came there accompanied by many faithful friends, and bringing vast heaps of treasure: he presented himself to the king with a noble confidence.

“ King

"King of Castille," he exclaimed, "the blood of Christians, and of Moors, has for a long time flowed on account of my dispute with Farady. You protect my rival and son, it is you whom I choose for my judge. Examine my claims and his, and say which of us ought to be king. If it be Farady, all I ask of you is to give me safe conduct to Africa; if it be myself, receive the homage which I offer you for my realms."

The cruel Peter, in astonishment, lavished many honours on the royal Moor, and seated him at his side at a superb festival. But on leaving table he was thrown into prison, from thence led through the town, half naked, exposed upon an ass, and being carried to a field named La Tablada, thirty-seven of his companions were beheaded in his presence. The execrable Peter, envying the executioner

tioner the delight of shedding blood, pierced with his own lance the wretched king of Grenada, who, when dying, said no more than "Oh, Peter, Peter, what an exploit for a knight!"

By a fatality, wonderful enough, all the thrones of Spain, were possessed by princes black with crimes. Peter the Cruel, the Nero of Castille, murdered the kings who placed confidence in him, put to death his wife, Blanch of Bourbon, and every day bathed himself in the blood of his relations or his subjects. Peter the Fourth, the Tiberius of Arragon, less outrageous, but equally barbarous and faithless with the Castillian. He robbed one brother of his crown, ordered the death of another, and delivered to the executioner his old governor. Peter the First, king of Portugal, the lover of the celebrated Innes de Castro, exasperated, doubtless,

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by the cruelty which had been exercised against his mistress, tore out the hearts of the murderers of Innes, and punished by poison the conduct of his sister Mary. Lastly, the king of Navarre was Charles the Bad, whose very name excites horror. Spain, deluged with blood, groaned under these four monarchs; and if it be remembered, that at the same period France was a victim to the troubles which followed the imprisonment of John; that England saw the beginning of the calamities of the reign of Richard the Second; that Italy, a prey to the factions of the Guelphs and Gibelins, had two popes at once; that two emperors in Germany disputed the Imperial crown; and that Tamerlane laid waste Asia, from the country of the Usbecks to the peninsula of India, it must be allowed that few epochs of mankind have been equally unfortunate. Grenada was, however, in tran-

quility after the crime of Peter the Cruel. Mahomet the Old, and the Farady, delivered from his rival, without farther obstacle again mounted the throne, and was, to the last end of the life of the king of Castille, the only ally who remained faithful to that monster. Peter nevertheless perished. His bastard brother, Henry of Transtamer, deprived him of his crown and life. Mahomet made his peace with the conqueror, enjoyed this for several years, and left his dominions in a flourishing condition to his son Mahomet the Eighth, Abouhadjad, whom the Spanish historians call Mahomet Guadix.

This prince was the best and the wisest who had ever governed the Moors. Solely intent on the happiness of his subjects, he wished to preserve to them that peace they had enjoyed so seldom. To
secure

secure this, he began by fortifying his towns, collecting a powerful army, and by allying himself with the king of Tunis, whose daughter Cadige he married. Prepared for war, he sent ambassadors to the king of Castille to solicit peace. Don Juan, son and successor of Henry of Transamer, occupied by his disputes with Portugal and England, willingly signed the treaty. Abouhadjad never broke it. Secure, with respect to the Christians, he endeavoured to make commerce and agriculture flourish; he diminished the imposts, and found his wealth the greater. Adored by a people, whose happiness he promoted; respected by the Christians, of whom he was not afraid; possessed of an amiable wife, who alone captivated his heart, he employed on the fine arts, on poetry, architecture, and the embellishment of his capital, the treasures and the time which he possessed.

He raised a number of monuments at Grenada and Guadix, which place was honoured by his particular regard, and made his court the asylum of talents and politeness.

The Moors still possessed universities and academies ; poets, physicians, painters, and sculptors. Abouhadjad encouraged and munificently rewarded them. The greater part of the performances of these authors of Grenada perished at the conquest : some, however, were preserved, and are in the library of the Escorial. The greater number consisted of treatises on grammar, astrology, then in high esteem, but above all on theology, in which science the Arabians excelled. This people, endowed with a quick sensibility and lively imagination, produced profound theologists. I think that their schools too have introduced in Europe
that

that wretched fantastic taste for disputations and subtle questions, which formerly made those famous, who now are forgotten. The pretended secrets of the cabala, of alchymy, judiciary astrology, the divining rod, all those fables so popular, of forcerers, magicians, and enchanters, came to us from the Arabs. They were ever a superstitious people; and I am inclined to believe that it was their residence in Spain, and their long connection with the Spaniards, which has impressed on these last the love for the marvellous, the character of pious credulity, with which philosophers reproach this lively, sensible, and gallant nation, to whom nature has given the seeds of all the great qualities of the soul.

One species of literature, common amongst the Moors, and which the Spaniards borrowed from them, is that of

novels or romances. The Arabians always were, and still remain, great admirers of stories. In the midst of the deserts of Asia and of Africa, under the Bedoween tents, every night do they assemble to hear some tale of love. They listen in silence; they expect with impatience; and weep over the two lovers whose history is related. At Grenada, to this natural passion for tales, was added a taste for music and singing. Poets composed in verse, recitals of war or of love; musicians set them to music, and the young Moors sung them. Whence proceeds that heap of Spanish romances, translated or imitated from the Arabic, which in a simple and occasionally pathetic style, recite the wars with the Christians, contentions betwixt rivals, and the interviews of lovers. Every thing is described with minuteness. Their entertainments, their tournaments, their bull-

bull-fights, their arms consisting of a huge scymetar, a small lance, a short coat of mail, a slight buckler of leather; their horses, whose hanging harness was ornamented with precious stones, their devices almost always a heart pierced with arrows, or a star guiding a vessel, or the first letter of the name of the beauty whom they loved; lastly, their colours, each of which had its peculiar meaning. Yellow and black expressed grief; green, hope; blue, jealousy; violet and flame colour, passionate love. One of their works abridged will better explain this than all I can say.

I.

Zelinda, in a jealous fury,
Banish'd her lover from her sight;
Never swain could love more truly,
Yet far he fled in doleful plight.
Soon Zelinda saw her error,
Soon reproach'd her cruel heart,
Like a youth, whom love has wounded,
Weeping o'er the poison'd dart.

II.

They told her how her Moorish lover,
To severest grief a prey,
Flying from his heart's best treasure,
His former colours threw away.
Queen of hope, the speaking emblem,
Now to gloomy black gave place,
The crape about his lance's iron,
The sorrow of his soul might trace.

III.

Soon the fair Zelinda parted,
With other colours for her love,
Where the blue of jealousy,
With purple mix'd, her truth might prove.
White, of innocence the symbol,
In every ribband shew'd its grace,
The violet too of constancy
Sparkled in the turban's place.

IV.

When she came to where in silence,
Wretched Ganzul mourn'd his fate,
Zelinda, timid, restless, trembling,
In a jasmin arbour fate ;

She

She sent forthwith her faithful servant,
The melancholy youth to find,
Ganzul scarce believ'd the message,
So much had grief distress'd his mind,

V.

He flies, he sees again his charmer,
How love and hope disturb'd his brain;
Zelinda, in a soft confusion,
Fear'd her gifts might be in vain.
Gentle both they wept in silence,
But their eyes, tho' full of grief,
Interchanging sweet forgiveness,
To both their bosoms brought relief.

This delicate and refined gallantry, which made the Moors famous through Europe, presents a singular contrast to the natural ferocity of all the people who come from Africa. These Mussulmen, who in battle conceive all their glory to consist in cutting off, with dexterity, their enemies heads, which they placed on their saddles, or exposed, dripping with

with blood, on their city gates, or entrance of their palaces; these warriors, restless, opinionated, ever ready to revolt against their sovereigns, to dethrone and murder them, were the most tender, the most passionate, the most obsequious of lovers. Their wives, although they were little better than slaves, became, when the objects of love, absolute sovereigns, absolute deities with respect to him whose affections they possessed. To please them it was, that they thirsted for glory; to illumine their eyes, they lavished their riches and their lives, and contended with each other in their exploits and sumptuous festivals. This extraordinary mixture of mildness and cruelty, of delicacy and ferocity, this passion of evincing themselves the bravest and most faithful of mankind, whence did it come? did it descend to the Moors, from the Spaniards, or did the Spaniards

Spaniards receive it from the Moors? I confess I know not. But in remarking that this distinction of character never existed in Asia, the first country of the Arabs, that it is less perceivable in Africa, where conquest naturalized them, and that since they left Spain, they have lost every vestige of these amiable and romantic manners, I cannot help thinking that they owe them to the Spaniards. In effect, before the invasion of the Moors, the court of the Gothic kings presents us with such examples. After this epoch we see princes, knights of Leon, Navarre and Castille, alike famous for their lives and their valour: the very name of Cid excites in us at once the emotions of tenderness and courage; and since the expulsion of the Moors the Spaniards have long preserved a reputation for gallantry far superior to that of the French; and the seed of which, at
present

present annihilated amongst all modern nations, still subsists in Spain.

Be this as it may, the women of Grenada might well inspire such emotions of love. They were then, and still are, the most seducing in the world. We read, in an Arabian historian, who wrote at Grenada in 1378 of our æra, in the reign of Mahomet the Old, this description of the women of that country.

“ They are universally handsome ; but the beauty which immediately captivates, receives its principal character from their grace and sweetness. Their person is above the middle size ; their long hair falls to their feet ; their teeth, white as alabaster, adorn their vermilion lips, which smile continually with a bewitching effect. The constant use they make of the most exquisite perfumes, gives a freshness
and

and a gloss to their skin, which other Mahometan females have not. Their gait, their style of dancing, all their motions have a graceful softness, a careless simplicity, which is conspicuous throughout the whole of their person. Their conversation is lively and impressive, and their warm and refined sensibility is continually proved by their gestures or expressions, marked with genius."

The dress of these females was composed, as it now is amongst the Turks and Persians, of a long linen tunic, secured by a sash, of a robe with strait sleeves, of large drawers and Morocco buskins. All these stuffs, extremely fine, and generally striped, were embroidered with gold and silver, mixed with precious stones. Their hair fell in loose tresses on their shoulders. A small turban, exceedingly rich, supported on their head a veil,

veil, which reached their knees. The men were habited much in the same manner : at their girdle was their purse, their handkerchief, and their dagger ; a white or coloured turban covered their head. Beneath their vest was a white robe, large and flowing ; and in winter the alhornos, or African mantle. The only change they made in this dress, when they went to war, was to add to it a coat of mail, and to cover with iron the front of their turbans.

It was the custom at Grenada to assemble every year, during autumn, in their delightful country villas, which surrounded the city. There they thought of pleasure only. The chase, music, and the dance, occupied their days and their nights. Their dances were without restraint, as were the songs, the glees, and ballads which they chaunted. If the
con-

contradictions of human nature could excite surprize, we should be astonished at that want of modesty amongst a people not ignorant of love, but the orientals in general are not very sensible of that modesty which is so amiable. They are rather passionate than lovers, more jealous than delicate, and know neither how to moderate nor conceal, pleasures which they purchase or which they seize.

I have availed myself in order to make this digression, which to many may appear too long, of the tranquility which Grenada enjoyed in the reign of Abouhadjad. This good king, after a reign of thirteen years, left his states in a flourishing condition to his son Joseph, who succeeded him without opposition.

Joseph the Second imitated his father, and desired to preserve the truce made
solemnly

solemnly with the Christians. This, however, an hermit disturbed. This fanatic undertook to persuade the grand master of Alcantara, Martin de Barbuda, a Portuguese, that heaven had chosen him to expel the Mussulmen from Spain. He promised him, in the name of the Deity, that he should be the conqueror of the Moors, and that he should take Grenada by assault, without the loss of a man.

The credulous grand master, satisfied of the certainty of this promise, instantly sent ambassadors to Joseph, to signify from him, that the religion of Mahomet was false and detestable, and that of Jesus Christ the only one, which men ought to believe. Martin de Barbuda then defied the king of Grenada to engage one hundred Christians with two hundred Moors, conditioning that the conquered nation

nation should instantly adopt the religion of the conquerors.

We may imagine what reception was given to these ambassadors. Joseph could with difficulty restrain his people. The envoys, ignominiously driven away, returned to the Grand Master, who, surprised at having no answer, instantly assembled a body of a thousand infantry, three hundred knights, and proceeded to the conquest of Grenada, under the guidance of the prophetic hermit.

The king of Castille, Henry the Third, who wished to preserve peace with the Moors, in the beginning of a reign where his private dominions were in no very tranquil state, no sooner heard of the enterprise of the grand master, than he sent him positive orders not to pass the frontiers. Barbuda replied, "he must obey God;"
and

and continued his rout. The governors of the cities through which he passed in vain endeavoured to stop him; the people, on the contrary, were lavish of their respect, and were emulous to increase his army. It was now become six thousand strong when he set foot in that hostile territory, which his foolish credulity made him consider as already conquered. He attacked the first castle; he lost three men, and was himself wounded. Being exceedingly astonished that it could be possible for himself to lose blood, and to have three soldiers killed, he sent for his hermit, coldly asked him what this could mean, after his unequivocal promise that he should not lose a single man. The hermit answered, that he intended to be understood of fixed battles only. Barbuda said no more, and soon perceived advancing an army of fifty thousand Moors. The battle immediately began.

The grand master and his three hundred knights perished after performing prodigies of valour; the remainder of his troops were taken, or fled; and the silence of historians respecting this hermit give us reason to suppose, that he was not amongst the last to escape.

This preposterous undertaking did not interrupt the harmony betwixt the two nations. The king of Castille did not support the grand master, and Joseph continued to reign with glory and tranquillity. He was poisoned, they say, by a superb vest which the king of Fez, his secret enemy, sent him by his ambassadors. Historians affirm that this robe, impregnated with a horrible poison, caused the miserable Joseph to die amidst insupportable tortures. His flesh separated from his bones, and he lingered in this state thirty days.

Mahomet

Mahomet the Ninth, his second son, who, even in his father's lifetime had endeavoured to foment troubles, usurped the crown from his elder brother Joseph, whom he shut up in prison. Mahomet had courage and some talents for war. Allied to the king of Tunis, who joined his fleet to that of Grenada, he broke the truce with the king of Castille, and at first obtained some advantages. But the Infant Don Ferdinand, uncle and governor of the young king John the Second, did not delay avenging the Spaniards. Mahomet the Ninth then died. Before he expired, wishing to confirm his son on the throne, he sent one of his principal officers to Joseph in prison, with orders to behead him. The officer found Joseph playing chess with an Iman. He with sorrow announced to him his unpleasant office. Joseph, without discomposing himself, asked leave to finish his party.

The

The officer could not refuse him this slight favour. Whilst the prince continued playing, another messenger arrived with the intelligence that Mahomet was dead, and that Joseph was proclaimed his successor.

This Joseph the Third was a good prince, and his people were happy under him. Far from avenging himself on the seditious who had helped Mahomet to deprive him of the crown, he heaped employments and favours upon them. He brought up his brother's children as his own; and when his ministers blamed him for this indulgence, which they considered as dangerous, suffer me, says he, to take from my enemies all excuse, for having preferred my younger brother to me.

This excellent prince was afterwards

compelled to take arms against the Christians. He lost some towns, but he preserved the veneration and love of his subjects, and died, after a reign of fifteen years, lamented by all his kingdom.

After his death the kingdom was distracted by intestine wars. The son and successor of Joseph, Mahomet the Tenth, was chased from his throne by Mahomet the Eleventh, surnamed the Little, who reigned two years. The Abencerrages, a powerful tribe in Grenada, restored Mahomet the Left-handed. His rival died upon a scaffold. The Spaniards attacked the Moors and carried fire and sword to the gates of their capital. All their fields were laid waste, their harvests destroyed, their villages ruined, and John the Second, who then reigned in Castille, desiring to add to the miseries he had already occasioned to the people of Grenada, the

the greater one of a civil war, proclaimed one Joseph Alhamar king of Grenada, grandson of that Mahomet the Red, so shamefully murdered by Peter the Cruel, at Seville. All the disaffected joined the standard of Joseph Alhamar. The Zegris, a famous tribe, enemies of the Abencerages, took part with the Usurper. Mahomet the Left-handed was once more driven from his capital, and Joseph the Fourth, Alhamar, possessed the throne six months; at the end of that time he died. Mahomet took his station; after thirteen years of trouble he was, a third time, deposed, seized, and imprisoned by one of his nephews, Mahomet XII. Osmin, who himself was soon afterwards dethroned by his own brother, Ishmael, and finished his days in the same prison where languished Mahomet their common uncle.

These frequent revolutions did not prevent either the Christian or Moorish governors, who commanded on the frontiers, making constant irruptions into the enemies country. Sometimes a small troop of horse surprized a village, murdered the inhabitants, plundered the houses, and seized their flocks. Sometimes a regular army appeared upon the plain, laying waste the fields, tearing up the vines, and cutting down the trees; perhaps they besieged and took some town, and departed with the booty. This mode of war was, of all others, the most destructive to the wretched husbandman; and, under the reign of Ishmael II. the country of Grenada had suffered so severely, that this prince was obliged to clear some of his great forests for the support of his capital, which obtained almost nothing from that vast and fertile Vega, so often desolated by the Spaniards.

Ishmael

Ishmael the Second left the crown to his son, Muly-Hassem, a young prince full of courage, who, availing himself of the troubles of Castille, in the miserable reign of Henry IV. called the Powerless, carried his arms to the very centre of Andalusia. His success at the beginning, his talents and military ardour, gave the Moors vast hopes of resuming their ancient power; but a great event checked their victories, and laid the way for their final ruin.

Isabella of Castille, sister of Henry the Powerless, in spite of the king her brother and other obstacles which seemed insurmountable, married the king of Sicily, Ferdinand named the Catholic, presumptive heir of the crown of Arragon. This marriage uniting the two most powerful monarchies in Spain, was a mortal wound to the Moors, who, till this

juncture, were supported only by the divisions of the Christians. One alone of the two enemies they had now to encounter would have been sufficient to have crushed them. Ferdinand, a profound politician, at the same time active, flexible and firm; prudent even to distrust, and refined even to perfidy, possessed the incomparable talent of seeing from a distance, and in a moment, all the ways of arriving at his end. Isabella more noble and more proud, and endowed with a masculine courage, of approved constancy, knew how to prosecute and compleat an enterprize. The character of the one ennobled the spirit of the other. The husband occasionally shewed the temper of a feeble and perfidious woman who negociates but to deceive, whilst the wife was always a mighty king marching to victory and triumph.

As

As soon as these two sovereigns had dispersed the factions, conquered their foreign enemies, composed their interior troubles, and received the immense succession which was a long time disputed, they employed all their attention upon the idea of totally expelling the Moors. This age seemed marked for the glory of the Spaniards. Independent of the vast advantages which the junction of their common forces gave them, Isabella and Ferdinand were surrounded by men of exalted characters. The famous Ximenes, a simple cordelier, but afterwards cardinal, was at the head of their councils; and this subtle minister, as he himself remarked, *led all Spain with his cord*. The civil wars had formed a croud of warriors and incomparable generals; amongst these were the count of Cabra, the marquis of Cades, and the famous Gonzalva of Cordova, to whom Europe and history

have confirmed the name of the Great Captain, first given him by his country. The public treasure exhausted by the absurd profusion of Henry, was soon filled again by the rigid œconomy of Isabella, and by Bulls obtained from the Pope to seize the ecclesiastical revenues. The troops were numerous and well disciplined. The emulation betwixt those of Arragon and Castille served but to encrease their valour: all denounced the inevitable fate of the last monarchy of the Mussulmen.

Muly-Hasssem, who then reigned, was not terrified by all these dangers; he first broke the truce by seizing Zahra. Ferdinand complained by his ambassadors, who at the same time demanded the ancient tribute paid by the princes of Grenada to the kings of Castille. I know, answered Muly, that some of my predecessors

cessors gave you certain pieces of gold, but in my reign we coin no more money; behold the only metal which I can offer Spaniards.—Saying this, he shewed them the point of his lance.

The army of Ferdinand soon marched towards Alhama, a very strong place near Grenada, and famous for the sumptuous baths which the Moorish kings had there embellished. Alhama was surprized by the Christians, and the flames of war lighted up, never to be extinguished.

Success was at first totally balanced. Muly had numerous troops, a great treasure, and artillery. He might long have defended himself, but an act of indiscretion on his part, precipitated him into an abyss of evils from which he could rise no more.

Muly had a Moorish wife named Aixa, of one of the first tribes of Grenada: by her he had a son, called Boabdil, who was to be his successor on the throne. Captivated by a Christian slave who governed him absolutely, Muly divorced his wife Aixa. This was a signal for civil war. The exasperated wife, in conjunction with the guilty Boabdil, revolted with her relations, friends, and the half of Grenada. Muly-Hassem was driven from his capital: Boabdil assumed the title of king; and the father and son contended, with avowed hostility, for a crown which Ferdinand was about to ravish from them both.

To encrease his misfortunes, a brother of Muly, named Zagal, put himself at the head of some troops, and obtained some advantage over the Spaniards in the straits of Malaga. This victory procured

cured Zagal the love and esteem of the Moors. He instantly formed the design of dethroning his brother and his nephew. The state saw itself torn in pieces by a third faction. Boabdil trembled in Grenada; and desirous, by some brilliant action, to animate his party, almost abandoned to despair, he went, at the head of a small army, to surprize Lucena, a city belonging to the Castillians. The unfortunate Boabdil was taken captive in this expedition. He was the first Moorish king ever taken by the Spaniards. Ferdinand paid him the respect due to his misfortunes, and kept him prisoner at Cordova.

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resistance to the progress of the Castilians, who, on all parts, possessed themselves of towns, and proceeded on their march towards Grenada, where the wretched Mussulmen were in arms against each other. To increase these bloody disputes which already prognosticated their ruin, the subtle Ferdinand restored Boabdil his liberty. He became even the ally of his captive, promised to assist him against his father, on condition that Boabdil should pay him a tribute of twelve thousand gold crowns; that he should confess himself his vassal and surrender to him certain towns. The pusillanimous Boabdil agreed to all, and, aided by Ferdinand, hastened to make war on Muly.

Thus the kingdom of Grenada became a scene of carnage, where Muly-Hassem, Boabdil and Zagal persecuted each other sword in hand, for its last miserable frag-

ments. In this interval the Spaniards proceeded from one conquest to another, sometimes under pretence of succouring Boabdil their ally, sometimes claiming the fulfilling of the treaty they had made with that prince, always spreading the flames of discord, stripping the three parties alike, and leaving the vanquished their laws, their manners, and the free exercise of their religion.

In the midst of these calamities and crimes, the old Muly-Hassem died of grief, or was taken off by his brother. Ferdinand made himself master of all the western part of the kingdom, and Boabdil covenanted with Zagal to divide the little which remained of these desolated realms. Grenada belonged to Boabdil, Guadix and Almeria were assigned to Zagal. The war continued nevertheless, and the guilty Zagal despairing to retain
what

what he had got, sold his possessions to Ferdinand for an annual pension. The treaty was signed, and the Catholic monarchs took possession of these towns; and the perfidious Zagal did not scruple to accept, in the Christian army, a situation, in which he assisted to give the mortal blow to his nephew and his country.

Finally, there remained to the Moors but the solitary city of Grenada. There Boabdil still reigned; and this miserable prince exasperated by his troubles, turned his rage against his subjects, whom he ruled with rigour. The kings of Castille and Arragon, notwithstanding their pretended alliance with this feeble monarch, sent to him to put into their hands his capital, agreeably to the private agreement they affirmed he had made with them. Boabdil exclaimed against this perfidy; but complaining was now ill-timed,

timed, it became him to fight or renounce his crown. It must be confessed that the Moorish king took the noblest part; he determined to defend himself. Ferdinand, at the head of an army of sixty thousand men, the choice of the two kingdoms, advanced to besiege Grenada in the year 1491, on the 9th of May. This great city, I have already remarked, was defended by strong ramparts, flanked by a thousand and thirty towers, and by a number of works heaped one upon another. All that remained of these brave warriors attached to their country, their religion and their laws, united themselves in its walls. Despair encreased their force; and under any other chief than Boabdil this despair might have preserved them. But this prince, alike feeble and ferocious, upon the least suspicion, or the slightest proof, caused the most faithful of his adherents to perish under the hands
of

of the common executioner. He was equally hated and despised by the people of Grenada, who nicknamed him Zogoybi, or the Little King. All the tribes of Grenada, and that of the Abencerrages in particular, were discouraged and disconcerted. The ministers of law and of religion predicted aloud the end of the empire of the Moors, as it was only the horror which they entertained for the Spanish yoke which at all kept together a people incensed equally against their enemies and their monarch.

The troops of Ferdinand on the contrary, intoxicated with their past success, considered themselves as invincible, and imagined they were proceeding to certain victory. They saw themselves commanded by chiefs whom they adored, Ponce de Leon marquis of Cadix, Henry de Guzman duke of Medina, Sidonia,

Sidonia, Mendoza, Aguilar, Villena, and, above all, Gonzalva de Cordova, with many other famous captains, followed their victorious sovereign. Isabella, whose qualities commanded esteem, whose grace and affability, conciliated love, attended the camp with the Infant, her children, and the most brilliant court which was then in Europe. This great Queen accommodated to circumstances her temper, which was naturally severe, and mingled with military labours, festivals and amusements. Tournaments relieved the toils of combat, illuminations, dances, games, occupied every summer evening, in that climate so delightful. Isabella presided over all; a word from her mouth was a recompense for every thing; a look from her made the meanest of the soldiers a hero. Plenty reigned in the camp, joy and hope animated every heart; whilst, amongst the
Grena-

Grenadians, mutual animosities, general consternation, and the certainty of wanting provisions, had frozen the courage of them all.

The siege continued almost nine months. Ferdinand did not attempt an assault against a place so well fortified. After wasting the environs, he waited patiently till famine should oblige Grenada to surrender. Satisfied with thundering on the ramparts, with repelling the frequent sorties of the Moors, he engaged in no decisive action, and concluded every day with some advantage over an enemy which could not escape him. An accident in the night set fire to Isabella's tent, and a conflagration destroyed all the camp. Boabdil did not avail himself of it. The queen wished that in the place of the camp which had been burned, a city should be erected, in order to convince

vince the Mussulmen that the siege never should be raised. This idea, great and wonderful, worthy the genius of Isabella, was completed in eighty days. The Spaniards settled themselves in this city, which was regularly surrounded by walls. It still remains and bears the name of Santa-Fé, given it by this pious queen. At length, pressed by famine, and generally beaten in the slighter skirmishes which constantly took place under the walls, abandoned by Africa which made no attempt to succour them, the Moors perceived the necessity of surrendering. Gonzalva de Cordova was entrusted with the commission of regulating the articles of capitulation.

It was determined that the people of Grenada should acknowledge Ferdinand and Isabella for their sovereigns, as well as their successors on the throne of Castille;

till; that they should restore, without ransom, all Christian prisoners; that the Moors, in possession of their own laws, should preserve their customs, judges, a portion of their mosques, and the unrestrained exercise of their religion; that they might keep or sell their effects, retiring to Africa or wherever else they thought proper; but that the Castillians should never compel them to leave Spain; that Boabdil should enjoy, in Alpuxares, a rich and extensive domain to manage as he thought proper.

This was the capitulation, which the Spaniards but ill observed. Boabdil executed this some days before the time agreed upon, having learned that his people, incited by the Imans, wished to break the negociation, and bury themselves in the ruins of Grenada. The wretched king hastened to deliver to the
Castillians

Castilians Albayzin and Alhambra; he then hastened to present the keys to Ferdinand, and entered the city no more. Soon afterwards, followed by his family and a small number of attendants, he took the road to the melancholy domain which was given him for a kingdom. Arrived at mount Padul, from which Grenada was visible, he gave it a last look and his eyes were bathed in tears. My son, exclaimed his mother Aïxa, you may well weep like a woman, over a throne you knew not how to defend like a man. This unhappy man could not long live as a subject in the country where he had governed; he soon afterwards passed over into Africa, and was slain in battle.

Isabella and Ferdinand made their entrance into Grenada, Jan. 2, 1492, amidst the clamour of artillery and the shouts of the military. The city seemed deserted

deserted; the Moors, concealed in their houses, fled from the sight of their conquerors, concealing their tears and their despair. The sovereigns went in solemn procession to the grand mosque, which was transformed into a church, where they returned thanks to the deity for their extraordinary success. Whilst they were discharging this pious duty, the count of Tendilla, the new governor of Grenada, fixed the triumphant cross, the standard of Castille and St. James, upon the highest tower of the Alhambra.

Thus fell this famous city, and thus ended the power of the Moors in Spain, after it had existed seven hundred and eighty-two years, from the conquest of Tarik.

We cannot but remark in this concise account, the principal causes of their destruction.

struction. The first was their great characteristic shewn in that spirit of inconstancy, that love of novelty, that eternal restlessness which induced them so often to change their sovereigns, which multiplied factions amongst them, distracted their empire by discord, and terminated by delivering them to their enemies, stripped of the forces they had employed against themselves. They had also farther to reproach themselves with their taste for magnificence, for festivals and splendored monuments, which exhausted the public treasury, whilst their incessant wars did not give opportunity to lands, the most fertile under the sun, to reproduce crops, always ravaged by the Spaniards. Besides this, they were defective in their laws, the only solid base of the prosperity of nations, and their despotic government, beneath which, men in a manner have no country, made every
indivi-

individual consider his virtues and his talents as instruments alone of personal aggrandisement, and not as a patrimony belonging to the state.

These defects so dangerous in themselves, and which produced their ruin, were to be weighed against qualities which the Christians themselves acknowledged. As brave and as temperate as the Spaniards, but less docile and inferior in discipline, they were superior on first attack. Adversity did not for a long time depress them; they considered it as the will of heaven, and submitted without murmuring. The doctrine of fatality contributed doubtless to give them this virtue. Zealous observers of the law of Mahomet, they rigorously practised the beautiful precept of charity: they gave the poor not only bread and money, but a portion of their corn, their fruit,

fruit, their cattle and their merchandise. In the cities, and in the fields, the sick were nursed with care, and assisted with the warmest piety. Hospitality in every age so sacred amongst the Moors, was not less so at Grenada; they were delighted to exercise it; and it is impossible to read, without emotion, the anecdote of the old Man of Grenada, to whom a stranger, stained with blood, and pursued by justice, came to demand an asylum. The old man concealed him in his house. At this moment the guard arrived to demand the murderer, and bringing to the old man the corps of his son whom this stranger had assassinated. The wretched father would not give up his guest; and when the officers were gone—Depart from me, said he to the assassin, lest I be obliged to pursue you.

Such were these celebrated Moors, but
VOL. I. K little

little known to historians who have often traduced them. After their defeat many amongst them retired to Africa. They who continued at Grenada, had to suffer persecution. The article of the last treaty, which formally allowed them the liberty of their worship, was violated by the Spaniards; they obliged them to abjure their faith by torture, by terrour, and by various unworthy methods. Irritated by this want of faith, the Moors endeavoured to relieve themselves, but their efforts were in vain: Ferdinand himself marched against them; put those to death whom he termed rebels, and with his sword in his hand assisted at the baptism of more than fifty thousand vanquished.

The successors of Ferdinand, Charles the Fifth, and above all Philip the Second, again tormented the Moors. The inquisition was established at Grenada; terror,
public

public informers, punishments, were employed to convert them. They tore from them their infants, to initiate them in the faith of a deity who always abhors violence, whose precepts are those of peace ; they stripped them of their effects, and accused them on the smallest pretence. Reduced to despair, they once more took arms, and the most terrible vengeance was exercised by them on Christian priests. The new king whom they chose, Mahomet-Ben-Ommiah, whom they said to be of the race of the Ommiades, fought many battles in Alpuxares ; and, in spite of all changes of fortune, supported himself for two years in his dignity. He was assassinated by his followers. His successor had the same fate, and the Moors were again obliged to bow beneath a yoke, which their revolt had rendered more heavy.

Finally, Philip the Third expelled them effectually from Spain; and the depopulation occasioned by that famous edict, made in that vast monarchy a wound which is not yet healed. More than one hundred and fifty thousand of these miserable beings passed through France, where the generous Henry the Fourth treated them with humanity. Others to a small amount remained, and are still concealed in the mountains of Alpuxares; but the greater part went to reside in Africa, where these wretched people now drag a painful existence, under the despotism of the kings of Morocco, and every Friday implore the deity to re-establish them in Grenada.



NOTES

NOTES

TO THE

FIRST EPOCH.

INTRODUCTION.

I.

MARIANA, Garibai, Ferreras, Zurita are very good historians; the first above all, who was deeply read, and wrote often with the eloquence and talents of Livy: indeed, he seems to have studied the manner of this historian, and to have retained his affection for the marvellous. All these authors anxious for the glory of their own nation, have frequently paid too little attention to that of others; forgetting, in the love of their country, that a love of truth is the first virtue of an historian.

II.

Would it be believed, that a majority of the Arabian historians entirely omit the famous battle of Tours. Hidjazi mentions only that Charles, king of France, although the Arabs were in the heart of his kingdom,

declined fighting with them, in the hope that their internal divisions would destroy them. And (adds this author) the Arabs of Damascus and of Yemen, the Bereberes and the Modarites fell out among themselves, and the conquest of France failed. (Cardonne, History of Africa, Vol. I. p. 130.) But there are more powerful reasons to be assigned for these chasms, than even their vanity. Many of their princes, and amongst them those of the dynasty of Almohades, who reigned in Africa in the 12th century, prohibited the writing the annals of their country on pain of death. Novaïri tells of one punished with the utmost severity for this crime. This dreadful weakness seems a punishment inflicted by the hand of despotism upon itself.

III.

Romances are entitled to some esteem, as they paint faithfully the passing manners. That of *Las Guerras civiles de Granada*, by Ginez-Perez de Hita, which I imagine to be translated from, or at least an imitation of, the Arabian, tells more the manners of the Moors than the Spanish historians who are prolix and disgusting. It has been of service to me; and I have not scrupled to take from thence whatever might suit my purpose. I have gathered some information from a number of old Castilian romances, intitled, *Romancero General*, of which I have spoken in this work. But I

owe,

owe most to a Spanish scholar, Don Juan Pablo Fornez, fiscal to his Catholic majesty at Seville, distinguished by his learning and his talent for poetry, who has not only furnished me with information, but pointed out where I might obtain more. I am happy in this opportunity of publicly acknowledging my obligation to Don Juan, who has improved my work by his intelligence, and spared me many faults by his advice. I have been careful always to add to our date the date of the Hegira of the Mussulmen. Some Spanish historians (for instance Garibai) do not agree about the years of the Hegira with the Arabian historians. I have thought it proper to follow the authority of the Arabians, and to pay attention to the Chronology of Mr. Cardonne, who assures me he has been very exact in his calculations. I have nevertheless corrected him by Ferraras. The Arabian proper names are, by the difficulty of pronounciation, and the ignorance of orthography, much varied in different authors. I have always adopted those most generally known, and most agreeable to the ear. The Chronological Tables of the Moorish sovereigns, which I have placed at the beginning of the book, will serve to clear any doubts on this subject.

PAGE 5.

The word Islamisme is derived from Eslam, which signifies consecration to God. All this abridgment of

the principles of the Mussulman religion is taken word for word from the Koran, the chapters of the Cow, the Voyage, the Women, the Smoke, the Conversion, and the Table. These precepts are often hid in a cloud of absurdity, in repetitions and incoherent ideas; but the work has much fancy, and the moral is pure. Mahomet never speaks. The angel Gabriel brings him the word of God. The prophet listens and repeats it. The angel takes care not to confine his conversation to religion, he talks of legislation and police; and hence the Koran is the code of laws civil and divine: half of the book is in verse, the other half in elevated prose. Mahomet was a great poet. A talent so esteemed in Arabia, that the people assembled at Mecca to judge the merits of the different poems, affixed by their authors to the walls of the temple of Caaba. The victor is crowned with great solemnity. When Mahomet fixed there the second chapter of the Koran, Labid ebn-rabia, the best poet of the time, tore his performance and acknowledged himself inferior to the prophet. (From Ryer's Life of Mahomet, and Savary's Translation of the Koran.)

PAGE 8.

Mahomet was not so cruel as he was depicted; he often shewed favor to the vanquished, and even pardoned personal injuries. Caab, son of Zohair, one of his

his most furious enemies, and whose head was proscribed, dared to appear in the mosque at Medina at the moment Mahomet was preaching to the people. Caab recited verses which he had made in praise of the prophet. These he heard with transport, embraced Caab; and taking the garment from his own shoulders, cloathed him with it. This cloak was afterwards bought by a Caliph, from the family of the poet, for twenty thousand drachms, and became the ornament of the sovereigns of Asia, who wore it only on the most solemn feasts. The last moments of Mahomet prove his soul was not cruel. The eve of his death he rose and was carried to mosque in the arms of Ali: mounted on his throne he prayed, and then addressed his people, "Mussulmen, the hour of my dissolution approaches—I am no longer to be feared. If I have injured any one let him revenge himself. If I have taken from any one his money here is my purse; let him repay himself. If I have reduced any one unjustly to shame, let me in my turn be mortified; I deliver myself to justice." The people applauded him with tears. One man only demanded of him three drachms. Mahomet, in paying him, added the interest. He took a tender farewell of the brave men who had so valiantly defended him; he gave liberty to his slaves, regulated the order of his funeral; and though to the last he persisted in his character of prophet, holding converse, as he said, with the angel

Gabriel, even in agony. He was not less good and sensible to Fatima his daughter, his wife Aiezha, Ali, Omar, his disciples and his friends. Outward and inward mourning was universal in Arabia. The people rent the air with cries, and rolled in the dust. Fatima died of despair. The poison which caused his death had been given him some years before by a Jewess, named Zainab, whose brother had been killed by Ali. This vengeful woman poisoned some roast lamb, which was served up to Mahomet. Scarce had it entered his lips ere he spit it out again, crying, "it was poisoned:" but in spite of this early discovery, and the immediate application of medicine, he suffered, from the violence of the poison, great pain, and died four years after in the sixty-third year of his age. The respect, the veneration of the eastern nations for Mahomet can hardly be conceived. Their doctors have written that the world was made for him; that God created first the light, and from that light the soul of Mahomet, &c. Some have held that the Koran was not created; others the contrary. Hence the croud of commentators and sects, and the religious wars which have covered Asia with blood. (Marigny's Hist. of the Arabs. Savary's Life of Mahomet: the Bibliotheque Orientale of Herbelot.)

PAGE 9.

The feats of arms by this Kaled, told by authentic historians, resemble those of a hero in a romance. An enemy to Mahomet, he conquered him at the battle of Ahd, the only conquest obtained against the prophet. Becoming Mussulman, he submitted his people to Mahomet, who revolted after this death, fought with the armies of Heraclius, conquered Syria, Palestine and part of Persia. He was victor in several single combats, which he generally proposed to the generals of the enemy. One trait gives great insight to his character; he laid siege to the city of Bosra. The Grecian governor, named Romain, feigning to make a sally, ranged his army before that of the Mussulman. At the moment the signal was given he demanded a conference of Kaled. The two warriors advanced to the middle of the space which separated the two armies. Romain told him, that he had decided to deliver up the city and embrace Mahometanism; but he added, that he feared his soldiers, and supplicated Kaled to afford him the means to escape their vengeance. The best way, answered Kaled, is instantly to commence a combat with me. This mark of courage will command the respect of your troops, and we may afterwards treat together. Saying, this, without waiting the answer, he attacked the unfortunate governor, who defended himself tremblingly. At every stroke Romain called out, will you then kill

me? No, cried the Muffulman, my intention is only to gain for you respect and honour; and the more wounds you receive, the more you will be esteemed. At last he left him almost murdered, possessed himself of the city; and when he next saw the governor, asked him coolly, how he found himself. (Marigny. Hist. of the Arabs, Vol. I.)

PAGE 12.

The Bereberes have given their name to that part of Africa, which we call Barbary. Some take them with great probability to be descended from the first Arabs come with Melek Yafrik, and confounded with the ancient Numidians. Their language, which differs from others, may be corrupted from the Punic; this is the opinion of M. Chenier. Though the Bereberes may yet exist in the kingdom of Morocco, divided into tribes, wandering in the mountains, never forming alliance with the Moors whom they detest; paying homage to the king of Morocco as the chief of their religion; but braving his authority when they please. Free from their number, courage, and love of independence, they preserve their ancient manners, which is related in the seventh book of my work, according to what I found in Leon l'Africain, Marmol. M. Chenier, &c.

NOTES.

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PAGE 17.

Tarik came to mount took Heraclea, to
which the Arabs gave the name of Djebel Tarik.

PAGE 22.

The death of this Caliph the ninth of the Ommiades merits our pity. He one day amused himself with throwing grapes at a slave named Hababah, who caught them in her mouth. Unfortunately one of these grapes, much larger in Syria than in Europe, stuck in her throat, and immediately choked her. Yezid, in despair, would not permit his favorite to be buried. He watched the body eight days, without ever quitting it a moment. At last obliged, by putrefaction, he left it, and died with grief, leaving orders to be buried in the same tomb with his much loved Hababah. (Marigny, Hist. of the Arabs, Bibliotheque Orientale of Herbelot, &c.)

End of the NOTES of the first EPOCH.

SECOND

SECOND EPOCH.

PAGE 32.

THREE Karegites (a fanatic sect of Mussulmen so called) seeing the empire disturbed by the quarrels of Ali, Moavias and Amrou, imagined they should perform a deed acceptable to heaven, and at the same time restore peace to their country, in assassinating at once these three men. The one went to Damascus and wounded Moavias in the back, but the wound was not mortal. He who was to have dispatched Amrou, killed, by mistake, one of his friends. The third wounded Ali as he went to mosque, and he was the only one killed. (Marigny. Hist. of the Arabs. Vol. II.)

PAGE 33.

This Mervan was surnamed Alhemar, that is to say, the Afs, which, in the east, carries with it much honor on account of the patient indefatigable qualities of that animal. Ariosto tells us in the life of this Caliph, the sad story of Isabella de Galicia. Mervan being in Egypt, fell in love with a Christian slave, and would have offered her violence. To dissuade him from his purpose, she offered him an ointment to render him invulnerable; and agreed to abide the first proof of its efficacy

efficacy on herself. After washing her neck she exposed it, and bad him strike; and the barbarian instantly cut off her head.

PAGE 33.

Haroun al Raschild, that is to say, Haroun the Just, gained much glory in the east; for which, as well as his surname, he is, no doubt, in some measure indebted to the protection he shewed men of letters. His victories, and his love of the sciences, prove that Haroun was no common man; but his cruelty to the Barmecides tarnished the lustre of his greatest actions. This illustrious family descended from the kings of Persia; had been of signal service to the Caliphs, and were beloved and respected every where. Giaffar Barmecide, who passed for the most virtuous Mussulman and the best writer of his time, was Haroun's Vizier. He fell in love with Abassa, the sister of the Caliph. The princess loved Giaffar; and the Caliph, who watched his sister with a jealous eye, was uneasy at their attachment: he nevertheless consented to their union; but by a caprice worthy an eastern despot, exacted from Giaffar a vow, that he would never use the privileges of a husband. He submitted, and was, for a long time, faithful to his promise. Abassa, whose talent for poetry was great, one day wrote him the following verses.

Taught

Taught by the burning cheek of shame
 To hide the fire, I feel,
 I vainly struggle, to conceal
 The soul-consuming flame.
 This billet, wash'd with many a tear,
 Is charg'd with love's last long adieu ;
 Death, from desire or shame, finds entrance here,
 But welcome strikes since I expire for you.

Giaffar, no longer master of himself, broke his vow. It now became the care of Abassa to hide the consequence of this indulgence from her brother; she was secretly delivered of a son, which was conveyed to Mecca to nurse. Some years after, the Caliph made a pilgrimage to that city; and, by the treachery of a slave, became acquainted with the perjury of Giaffar. It would be incredible, if not received all over the East as truth, that Haroun caused his sister to be thrown into a well, Giaffar beheaded, and all his relations put to death. His father Jahiah a venerable old man, beloved by all the empire, who had governed long, received the fatal stroke with heroic firmness. Before his death he wrote these few words to the Caliph: "The accuser shall, in a little time, follow him on whom sentence has been executed; both must appear before a judge who cannot be deceived." The implacable Haroun carried his vengeance so far, as to forbid speaking of the Barmecides. A Mussulman, named Mundir, in defiance of
 this

this law, made a public eulogium on them. The caliph sent for him, and threatened him. You have but one way to stop my panegyric, answered Mundir, that is by my death : but this will not bury the remembrance of their virtues throughout your empire : and the ruins of their monuments, which you have destroyed, speak loudly of their glory. Haroun touched by these expressions, dismissed him with presents. Here said he, receiving them, is another benefit from the Barmecides. This was that Haroun, surnamed the just. Almamon, his son, had no surname, and was the best, as well as wisest of men. One may judge, from the following circumstance : his ministers pressed him to punish, with death, one of his kinsmen, who had caused himself to be proclaimed Caliph, and had borne arms against him. Almamon would not consent, and said to them with tears in his eyes, If every one was acquainted with the pleasure I receive from pardoning those who have offended, they would all eagerly seek me, to make confession of their faults. This amiable prince caused the arts and sciences to flourish under him. His reign was an epoch of glory, amongst the Arabians. (Marigny, Hist. of the Arabs, Herbelot's Bibliotheque Orientale.)

PAGE 36.

Historian's disagree about the time of Charlemagne's coming into Spain. It appears to have been under the reign

reign of Abderame the First. That this emperor passed the Pyrenes, took Pampeluna and Saragossa, and was driven to the defiles of Roncevaux, so famous in romances for the death of Roland.

PAGE 40.

The old laws of Arragon, known by the name of Fore de Sobrarbe, limited the power of sovereigns by a counterpoise in that of the Ricos Hombres, and the magistrate whom they called the Justice. Every one knows the vow taken by the states of Arragon to their king.

PAGE 44.

A school for music, founded at Cordova by Ali Zeriab, produced the famous Moussali, regarded as the best musician of the East. This music is not formed like ours, by the harmony of different instruments, but simply in the singing soft and tender airs accompanied by the lute. Sometimes more voices and lutes sing and play together in unison. This music is sufficient for a people, who love passionately poetry, and whose next object to hearing the voice is to understand the verses. This Moussali, who was an eleve of Ali Zeriab at Cordova, became, by his talent, the favorite of Haroun al Raschild. They tell of the Caliph, that, falling in love with one of his slaves, he fell into a fit of melancholy, which

which made them apprehensive for his life. Giassar, the Barmecide, his first visier, took the poet Abbas-ben-Ahnaf to write of his passion. These verses were sung by Moussali before the Caliph, who was so touched with the thoughts of the poet, and the voice of the musician, that he ran instantly to his mistress, gave and received pardon. The slave sent 20,000 drachms to the poet and Moussali. The Caliph sent 40,000. Cardonne's Hist. of Africa, Book II.

PAGE 50.

Mahomet, in his zeal to suppress idolatry, forbade his people the use of the images, or imitations of figures. This, however, was not strictly observed. The Caliphs of the East stamp on their money their own images, as may be seen by medals in the cabinets of the curious: on one side was the head of the Caliph; on the other his name, and passages from the Koran. In the palaces of Bagdad, Cordova and Grenada, they had many figures of animals, and much sculpture of marble and gold. Cardonne's History of Africa, Book II.

PAGE 53.

One may judge of this wealth by the presents of Abdoulmelez ben Cheid, raised to the dignity of first
visier

viser to Abderame the Third. This was, according to the account of Ibn Kaledan, the Arabian historian, 400 pounds of pure gold, 420,000 sequins in silver ingots, 420 pounds of wood of aloes, 500 ounces of ambergris, 300 ounces of camphire, 30-pieces of gold and silk cloth, 10 sable furs, 100 common furs, 48 housings of gold cloth of Bagdad, 4000-yards of silk, 30 yards of Persian tapestry, 800 sets of steel harness, 100 bucklers, 100,000 arrows, 15 Arabian horses, 100 others, 20 mules and housings, 40 boys, and 20 girls of rare beauty. Cardonne's Hist. of Africa, Book II.

PAGE 67.

About this time happened the famous adventure of the seven children of Lara, so celebrated by historians and Spanish novelists. These young warriors were seven brothers, sons of Gonsalvo Gustos, near relation to the first counts of Castille and lords of Salas de Lara. The son-in-law of Gonsalvo Gustos, named Zuy Velasques, instigated by the horrible advice of his wife, Donna Lambra, who complained of the youngest of these seven brothers, meditated horrible revenge. He began by sending Gonzalva ambassador to the king of Cordova, with particular letters, in which he requested the Caliph to put to death this enemy of Mussulmen. The Caliph contented himself with keeping him in prison.

prison. During this time the treacherous Velasques, under pretence of going against the Moors, led his seven nephews to an ambuscade, where the enemy falling on them they all perished, but after exploits and circumstances which render the story very interesting. This barbarous uncle sent the seven heads to the palace of Cordova, to be served up to the father in a plate of gold, covered with a veil. The father uncovered it, and swooned away. The Caliph, irritated against Velasques, restored Gonzalva to his liberty. But Velasques was too powerful to be punished. He tried in vain : his age had deprived him of his powers. Alone with his wife he wept his infants, and prayed heaven he might be permitted to follow them. Heaven sent him an avenger. Gonzalva, during his imprisonment at Cordova, had been the happy lover of the sister of the Mussulman king. This princess, after his departure, was brought to bed of a son, named Mudarra Gonzalva. Arrived at the age of fifteen, this son, born to be a hero, instructed in the fate of his brothers, determined to avenge them. He went from Cordova, defied Velasques, killed him, and sent his head to Gonzalva, requesting to be acknowledged and made a Christian. The wife of Gonzalva consented, with joy, to become the mother of this brave bastard. Mudarra was solemnly adopted. The wife of Velasques

ques was stoned and burnt. It is from this Mudarra Gonzalva are descended the Mauriques of Lara, one of the greatest houses in Spain. Mariana's History of Spain, Book VIII. Chap. IX. Garibai's Compend. Hist. Vol. I. Book X.

End of the Notes of the second Epoch.

THIRD

THIRD EPOCH.

PAGE 72.

These three bishops, who died in fighting for Mulsulmen, at the battle of Albakara, in 1010, were Arnulph, bishop of Vich, Accio, bishop of Barcelona, and Otho, bishop of Gironne. Mariana's Hist. of Spain, Book VIII. Chap. X.

PAGE 76.

Roderigue Diaz de Bivar, surnamed the Cid, so well known by his amours with Chimene, and his duel with the Count de Gormas, has been the subject of many poems and Spanish romances. Without all the extraordinary tales of this hero, in different works, we may believe, from the testimony of historians, that the Cid was the most brave, generous, and virtuous knight of his time. He was already famous by his exploits under the reign of Ferdinand the First, king of Castille, in 1050. When his son Sancho the Second would have dishonoured his sister Urrique, of the city of Zamora, the Cid generously represented the injustice he was about to do, in violating at once the rights of nature and the laws of honor. The impetuous Sancho banished the Cid, whom he afterwards found it necessary

fary to recal. When the death of Sancho, killed by treason, before Zamora, had given the throne to his brother Alphonso the Sixth, the Castillians requested that their new king should swear solemnly he bore no part in the assassination of his brother. No one dare ask of him this oath. The Cid proffered it to Alphonso at the altar where he was crowned, mixing with it horrible curses against perjury. Alphonso never forgave him this liberty : he soon banished the Cid, on pretence that he had trespassed on the promises of the king of Toledo Almamon, his ally, where Roderigo had, by mistake, pursued some fugitives. The time of his exile was his most glorious epoch : it was then he gained so many victories over the Moors, assisted only by those brave knights who followed him from his reputation. Alphonso recalled him, and, in appearance, restored him to favor ; but Roderigo was too blunt to retain it long. Banished anew from court, he went to conquer Valencia ; and master of this great city, and many others, he never essayed to be king ; he always continued the faithful subject of Alphonso, although he had offended him. The Cid died at Valencia in 1099, laden with years and glory. He never had but one son, who was killed young in battle. His two daughters, Elvira and Sola, married princes of the house of Navarre ; and, by a long train of alliances, are the ancestors of the reigning houses of France and Spain.

Mariana's Hist. of Spain, Book IX. and X. Garibai.
Compend. Hist. Vol. II. Book II.

PAGE 79.

The history of Africa is a series of murders; they are attended by the most horrid circumstances, and vary continually: we are struck with horror in every page; and to think of humanity afterwards, one would be tempted to condemn man as the most cruel and wicked animal on the earth. Among the croud of these African villains who bore the crown, Abou Ishak, of the race of Aghlebites, is distinguished for having first killed his eight brothers, and afterwards shed the blood of his own children. The mother of this monster hid from him sixteen of his daughters, which he had by different wives. One day, dining with Ishak, this mother, seizing a moment of apparent tenderness, when he seemed to regret the want of children, informed him that she had saved his sixteen daughters. The tiger appeared affected, and desired to see them. They came: their age, their graces, touched the brutal Ishak. He caressed them a long time. His mother, weeping for joy, retired to thank God for this change in his disposition. An hour after, an eunuch came with the heads of the sixteen princesses. I could relate many other stories of this detestable monster, well attested by historians. He reigned a long time, was happy in his

VOL. I. L victories,

victories, and died of sickness. Cardonne's Hist. of Africa, Book III.

Time has not subdued this brutal ferocity, which seems inherent in the climate of Africa. In our time, Mulei Abdalla, the father of Sidi Mahomet, the last king of Morocco, renewed these scenes of horror. He was near being drowned one day in passing a river. One of his slaves ran to him, and thought himself happy in saving his master. Mulei drew his sabre. "See," said he, "this infidel, who believed his assistance necessary to save that which is the care of heaven." Saying thus he cut off his head. The same Mulei had a servant in whom he confided, and whom he seemed to love. In a moment of generosity he prayed this servant to accept a thousand ducats, and leave him, lest he should be tempted to kill him. The old man embraced his knees, refused the ducats, and told him he had rather perish by his hand than be obliged to leave him. Mulei reluctantly consented. Some days after, without any motive, pressed by a thirst of blood, he killed this faithful domestic, upbraiding him that he had refused to quit him. Recherches Hist. sur le Maures, par M. Chenier, Tom. III.

These circumstances are painful to relate, but they make known the manners, inspire horror of despotism, and an useful love of laws.

PAGE 85.

Averroes was of Cordova, of one of the first families of that city. His translation of Aristotle was rendered into Latin; and we were, for a long time, possessed of that only. His other works, *De Natura Orbis* *de Re medica*, are in estimation among the learned. Averroes is justly held the first Arabian philosopher. In that nation they are not numerous where prophets and conquerors have been common. His philosophy caused him misfortunes. His indifference about all religions raised him enemies among the priests, fanatics, and above all, those jealous of his talents. He was accused before the emperor of Morocco of being a heretic, and condemned to expiate that fault by standing before the door of the mosque, and receiving on his face the spittle of all the faithful who went to pray for his conversion. He submitted, repeating these words, '*Moriatur anima mea morte philosophorum.*'

PAGE 95.

This king of Navarre was Sancho the Eighth, surnamed the Strong. It was in memory of the chains broken by him at the battle of Toloza, that he added the golden chains, on a field gules, which are in the arms of Navarre.

PAGE 101.

Blanche, mother of Saint Louis, was daughter of Alphonso the noble, king of Castille. She had a sister, named Berengaria, married to the king of Leon, and mother of Ferdinand the Third: Many historians, among them Mariana and Garibai, say that Blanche was the eldest daughter of Berengaria, consequently Saint Louis was the immediate heir to the throne of Castille. France has a long time upheld this pretension. Others say that Berengaria was the eldest daughter. It is surprising this point has not been cleared up; but it is plain the rights of Ferdinand have prevailed, being supported by the love of the Castillians.

End of the NOTES of the third Epoch.

FOURTH

FOURTH EPOCH.

PAGE 124.

This is the Alphonso, of whom it is said jestingly, that if he had been consulted by the Deity about the creation, he would have given good advice. This pleasantry has met much exception. Alphonso the Wise was an astronomer. His Alphonfine tables have gained him much credit. His code of laws, called *Las Partidas*, prove that he had the good of his people at heart. It is in this work we find these remarkable words, written by a king, in the third century : " The despot roots up the tree, the wise king only prunes it."

PAGE 126.

Alphonso the Wise was chosen emperor in 1257 ; but he was too far from Germany, and too busy at home, to support this election. He went, nevertheless, in 1273, to Lyons, where Pope Gregory the Tenth then was, to plead his cause before him. The Pope decided for Rodolpho de Habsbourg, of the house of Austria. So the Popes disposed of crowns. *Revolutions of Spain*, Vol. I. Book III.

PAGE 128.

This Sancho, surnamed the Brave, who carried arms against his father, and succeeded him in his government, was the second son of Alphonso the Wise. The eldest, Ferdinand de la Cerda, a gentle and virtuous prince, died in the flower of his life, leaving two children, which he had of his wife Blanche, daughter of Saint Louis, king of France. To deprive these infants of their right to the crown, Sancho made war against his father. He succeeded in his vile designs; but the princes de la Cerda, protected by France and Arragon, drew around them a number of malcontents of Castille, and were the cause, or pretence, for long and bloody divisions. Mariana, Vol. I. Book XIV. Garibai, Ferraras, &c.

PAGE 139.

Ferdinand the Fourth, son and successor of Sancho the Brave, was yet a child when he ascended the throne. His minority was tempestuous; but the genius and great qualities of queen Maria, his mother, quieted the factions. He was surnamed the *Summoned*, because, having, in a fit of anger, caused to be thrown from a high rock two brothers, of the name of Carvajal, accused, not convicted of assassination, in the moment of death these two brothers protested their innocence, and *summoned* Ferdinand to appear before the Judge of Kings,

Kings, in thirty days. At this time precisely, Ferdinand, who marched against the Moors, retiring after dinner to sleep, was found dead on his bed. The people of Spain doubted not but this was the effect of divine justice. It had been of use if the kings, his successors, and above all Peter the Cruel, could have been persuaded of it. Mariana, Vol. I. Book XV. p. 11.

PAGE 140.

After Sancho the Brave had made himself master of Tariffe, the Africans besieged it. It was during this siege that Alphonso de Gusman, governor of that city for the Spaniards, gave an example of heroism worthy Rome, but which must not be judged by paternal hearts. A son of Gusman's was taken. They carried him to the walls, and threatened the governor with his death if he did not surrender immediately. Gusman for answer threw them a poignard, and retired. Some time after he heard a great shout. He demanded eagerly the occasion. Some one answered him, that they had just then murdered his son. "Heaven be praised," said he, "I feared the city was taken." *Revolutions of Spain, Vol. I. Book IV.*

PAGE 148.

The passion of Peter of Portugal for Innès de Castro, was carried to such excess, that one may, in some measure,

measure, excuse his rigour towards the murderers of his mistress. These murderers were three of the principal Portuguese lords, named Gonzales, Pacheco, and Coëllo : who had stabbed her themselves, in the arms of her women. Peter, who was then only prince of Portugal, seemed at this time to lose his reason, and though before gentle and virtuous, now became brutal, and almost mad. He took arms against his father, laid waste the country where the assassins had possessions, and when he came on the throne, demanded of Peter the Cruel, Gonzales and Coëllo, who had taken refuge there. Pacheco was in France, where he died. Peter, master of his enemies, made their sufferings dreadful : he caused their hearts to be torn out while alive ; and himself assisted at this horrible spectacle. After satisfying his vengeance, this mad lover caused the body of his mistress to be taken up, cloathed her magnificently, put the crown on her livid and disfigured features, and caused her to be proclaimed queen of Portugal, and made all the lords of his court do her homage. Hist. of Portugal by Lequien de la Neuville, Book II.

PAGE 152.

After the taking of Grenada, the Cardinal Ximenes caused all the copies of the Koran, which he could procure, to be burnt. The soldiers took, by ignorance or super-

superstition, all the works written in Arabic, and destroyed a great many books in prose and verse.

PAGE 170.

The inhabitants of Grenada, and the Moors in general, were divided into tribes, composed of branches of the same family, more or less numerous, of more or less consequence; but they were never confounded; never divided. Every one had a chief, who was descended in a right line male from the first of the family. At Grenada there were thirty-two distinct tribes. The most famous were the Abencerrages and Zegris, much spoken of in this work; the Alabez, Almorades, Vane-gas, Gomelas, Abidbars, Ganzuls, Abenamars, Aliatars, Reduans, Aldoradins, &c. They have frequently been the enemies of each other, and their hatred was transmitted from father to son. This occasioned their frequent civil wars.

PAGE 173.

The marriage of Ferdinand and Isabella was attended with very singular circumstances. Isabella, after having been betrothed to the prince of Viana, Don Carlos, whose life and misfortunes form so interesting a part of the history of Spain; after having been promised to the grand Master of Calatrava, Pacheco; sought by Alphonso, king of Portugal; by the duke of Guienne, brother

ther of Louis XI. king of France ; by the brother of Edward, king of England ; decided for young Ferdinand, heir to the throne of Arragon, afterwards king of Sicily. Henry the Fourth, king of Castille, formally opposed this marriage ; and it was necessary to deceive him. The archbishop of Toledo, Carillo, who had spent his life in the intrigues of a court, undertook the management. He took her from the court of the king, his brother, and lodged her in safety at Valladolid. Soon after arrived Ferdinand, disguised, and followed only by four Cavaliers. The ceremony was then performed as secretly as possible. The new married couple, who would one day be possessed of all the treasures of the new world, were obliged to borrow money of their servants to defray the nuptials. They were soon after separated ; and as soon as the king of Castille learnt this event, factions and civil wars broke out. Isabella was rather older than Ferdinand. She was small, but well made ; her hair fair ; her eyes sparkling ; and though somewhat of an olive complexion, a very agreeable face. Ferdinand was of a middle size, dark complexion, sparkling eyes, and a grave air. Sober to excess : he eat but of two dishes, and drank only twice in his repast. Their moral character is in every history. *Revolutions of Spain, Vol. IV. Book VIII. Mariana's Hist. of Spain, Vol. II. Book XXV. Hist. of Ferdinand and Isabella by M. L'Abbè Mignot, &c.*

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Charity is one of the first precepts of the Mahometan religion; there are many recommendations of it; among others one I cannot forbear to note. "To him who has not been charitable the sovereign Judge will fasten a horrible serpent, who shall sting without ceasing the hand which refused to open itself to the unfortunate." Religion de Mahomet & Reland dixieme Leçon.

END of the NOTES.